VICTORY OR VICTORY OR VIOLENCE

THE STORY OF THE AWB OF SOUTH AFRICA

Arthur Kemp

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By Arthur Kemp

Ostara Publications

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Victory or Violence—The Story of the AWB of South Africa
By Arthur Kemp
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FOREWARD

Foreword to the 2008 edition

When this book was first published in 1990, it contained only thirteen chapters, and the dramatic events of the early 1990s, which make up the "extra" eleven chapters, had not yet taken place.

Even though I had predicted that the militants of the AWB would use violence to try and stop the political developments in South Africa from taking place, and indeed, a *Sunday Times* review of the book that year focused on my predictions, I could not precisely foresee the enormity of the events of those times.

For it is so that the AWB's armed campaign would put to shame the very best that the ANC had been able to muster over the previous three decades. Strangely, this period of contemporary South African history is largely unknown.

Essentially, this book from chapter fourteen onwards, is based on my own experiences. I lived through it all, knew or met most of the characters involved, and was often a direct eyewitness to the events. I decided to write it all down because, whether one liked it or not, it did happen, and because there are no other records of that time, it needs to be captured before time erodes all traces.

I would like to dedicate this book to my friend Nick Fourie, who died needlessly and tragically in Bophuthatswana. Rest in peace, Nick, I still think of you.

Arthur Kemp

March 2008

Foreword to the 2012 edition

Between the second and third editions of this book, Eugene Terre'Blanche was murdered. He was killed by his own laborers on his farm, where I spent many hours interviewing him and discussing with him the very topic of Afrikaner reliance upon black labor.

Eugene Terre'Blanche may have been misguided and often wrong, but no-one will ever be able to take away from him the truth that he was one of the bravest and most remarkable men I have ever met.

Arthur Kemp, January 2012.

"Ek wou my woorde neerskryf, nie om digter te wees, maar om my kort verblyf op die lewensvlakte te herleef." (Tolbos – E. N. Terre'Blanche)

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CHAPTER ONE: THE FOUNDING

Eugene Terre'Blanche speaks: his oratorical abilities were admitted by friend and foe alike.

The origins of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB – Afrikaner Resistance Movement) lie deep in the psyche of extreme Afrikaner nationalism, which dates back to the independent Boer republics of the late 1800s.

After their defeat at the hands of the British Empire during the Second Anglo Boer War of 1899–1902, Afrikaner nationalism reorganized itself into formal political groupings, most notably the National Party, founded in 1912 by a Boer War general, J.B.M. Hertzog.

This was the National Party which (after a number of splits which resulted in its name being changed to the Herenigde National Party—HNP—the Re-united National Party) won the 1948 general election and formally introduced the Apartheid era in South Africa.

The HNP which won the 1948 election was however by no means a single united party and consisted of a formal alliance with another party (the Afrikaner Party) and an informal alliance with several smaller Afrikaner nationalist forces which dated from the Second World War.

Amongst these forces were the remnants of the militant nationalist Ossewabrandwag, (the "Ox Wagon Sentinel") which had actively opposed South Africa's involvement in the Second World War and had tried to physically sabotage the war effort with a campaign of urban terrorism and violence; and the Greyshirts, an openly Nazi grouping whose emblem was an orange, white, and blue swastika.

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A typical HNP meeting of the 1980s. The banner reads "Win for the White Man with the HNP."

Many leading personalities of the HNP, which changed its name back to the National Party (NP) shortly after winning the 1948 election, were prominent amongst these groupings: John Vorster, later to become the NP prime minister to succeed H.F. Verwoerd, was a general in the Ossewabrandwag; and Louis Weichardt, later to become a leading NP senator, was the leader of the Greyshirts.

Although presenting a united front to the rest of the world, the NP was in fact always a coalition between these hard line and more moderate Afrikaners, and it was inevitable that one day they should part ways.

It was the ideological successors to the hard-line faction within the NP which finally broke with the NP in 1969 over a deviation from assassinated Prime Minister HF Verwoerd's segregated sports policy.

Mimicking their earlier party, the breakaway faction called itself the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP—the "Refounded National Party") and chose for themselves as leader one Albert Hertzog, son of the original founder of the NP.

In a great twist of irony, the NP prime minister at the time of the 1969 split was John Vorster. He called out an early general election in 1970 in an attempt to crush the HNP at birth. Although the new HNP had been founded amidst great euphoria at a congress of over ten thousand people, only a fractionally small percentage of the electorate voted for them.

Thus by 1971 the hard-liners of Afrikaner Nationalism had been forced out of the party which had previously carried them to victory against British rule. Rejected by the overwhelming majority of the electorate, the HNP and its members sat back, licked their wounds, and plotted a new way to influence the political climate in South Africa.

It was against this background that a new movement—the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging—the Afrikaner Resistance Movement—was to emerge from the embattled ranks of the HNP.

All the founding members of the AWB were also members of the HNP, with its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and the former deputy leader, Jan Groenewald, being full-time employees of the HNP.

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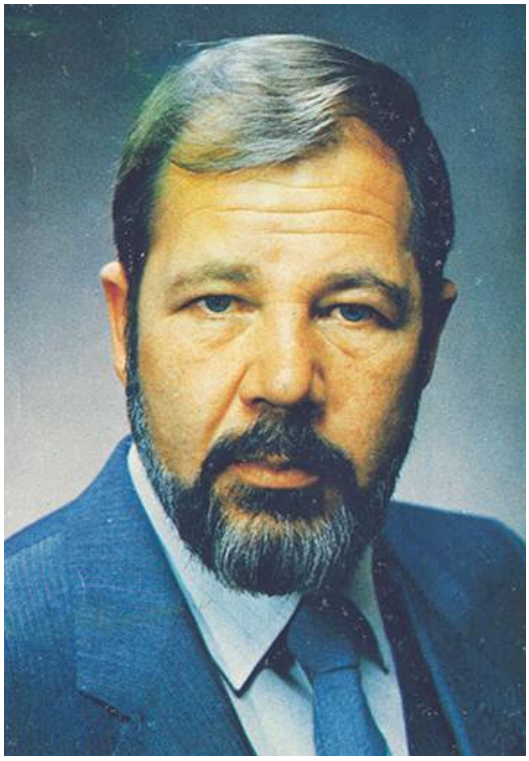

The official portrait of Eugene Terre'Blanche, 1987.

The central figure in the story of the AWB is its leader, Eugene Ney Terre'Blanche. Given his middle name by his father after Napoleon's famous general, Eugene Terre'Blanche was the AWB's dynamo upon which it was able to mobilize tens of thousands of Afrikaners to a cause in direct contradiction to the direction of world politics.

Born in 1941 in the dry Western Transvaal, Terre'Blanche was raised in a deeply devout traditional Afrikaner Protestant household. His grandfather was one of the "Cape rebels"—those Afrikaners who took up arms for the Boer cause during the Anglo-Boer War although they lived in the British-controlled Cape Province and not in the independent Boer Republics—and settled in the Transvaal after the conclusion of the war. Terre'Blanche lived on the the family farm in Ventersdorp, which he inherited from his father who died in 1985.

The family is originally French, and their name, loosely translated, means "White Earth"—a play on words that has often been used by Terre'Blanche himself. His wife Martie is originally from South West Africa (Namibia) and ran a number of modeling schools in the Western Transvaal. Their only child, Bea, is adopted.

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Terre'Blanche arrives at the Pretoria City Hall for a public meeting. Directly behind him, looking up, is Servaas de Wet, a police colonel involved with the AWB from its founding.

Terre'Blanche's great drawing power came virtually exclusively from his oratorical abilities, which have on more than one occasion been compared to Hitler's. There is certainly no doubt that Terre'Blanche's oratory was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries, left or right.

Despite the establishment media having given him as little publicity as possible, his speaking abilities and the rumor thereof alone managed to draw huge audiences across the country, even in traditionally liberal areas. More than once unhappy National Party organizers were heard to complain that "many people who go out of curiosity to a Terre'Blanche meeting end up being converted to his cause just after hearing him speak."

Terre'Blanche's voice was part of the secret—it was deep, rich and overpowering. His normal delivery was loud and deep, building to a screaming crescendo with rhythmic repetitious and long sentences.

A favorite tactic was to suddenly drop his voice to a whisper so that the audience literally

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held its breath so as not to miss a word, and then to suddenly launch into a loud crescendo. It is true what many a journalist has written of Terre'Blanche—he could hold an audience spellbound even if he were reciting a telephone directory.

This astonishing voice was matched by an intimate grasp of Afrikaner and world history. He never searched for a word when making a speech—this despite the fact that many of his speeches were not written out in full before delivery. In fact more than once the basic speech had been jotted down on the back of a cigarette pack during the introductory part of a meeting.

Terre'Blanche also used his undoubted talent for drama and poetry in his speeches to great effect. It is not well-known that, before he became notable politically, he received three awards from the respected Afrikaner establishment Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging (Afrikaans Language and Cultural Union) for best writer, actor and director of his play *Iewers Langs die Pad (Somewhere Along the Road)*.

Other works of his have been studied at university level, while a drama in three acts which he wrote in the middle 1970s about Boer history *(Sybrand die Watermaker—Sybrand the Water Maker)* was widely acclaimed and was for a long time required reading in schools in South Africa—even though most people reading the book did not know who the author "E.N. Terre'Blanche" really was.

His interest in politics started at school in Ventersdorp where he was chairman of the debating society and captain of the school's first rugby team, achieving Western Transvaal rugby colors. It was also at school that he started his own Afrikaner cultural organization, Jong Afrikanerharte (Young Afrikaner Hearts)—a portent of things to come.

After school Terre'Blanche served in the South African police where he reached the rank of warrant officer. Rumors have abounded that he was in fact ex-Prime Minister John Vorster's bodyguard, but this is a distortion of the truth. Terre'Blanche was at one stage stationed with the special guard unit, which protects all members of the cabinet, their residences and parliament, but he was just one member out of a unit of several hundred individuals, and was not specifically assigned to Vorster.

While in the police he was also chairman of the police's cultural group, and took part in many of that group's drama performances.

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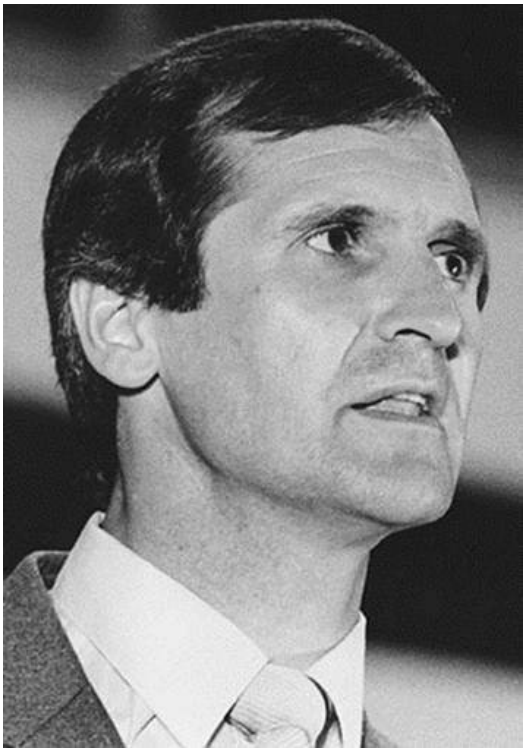
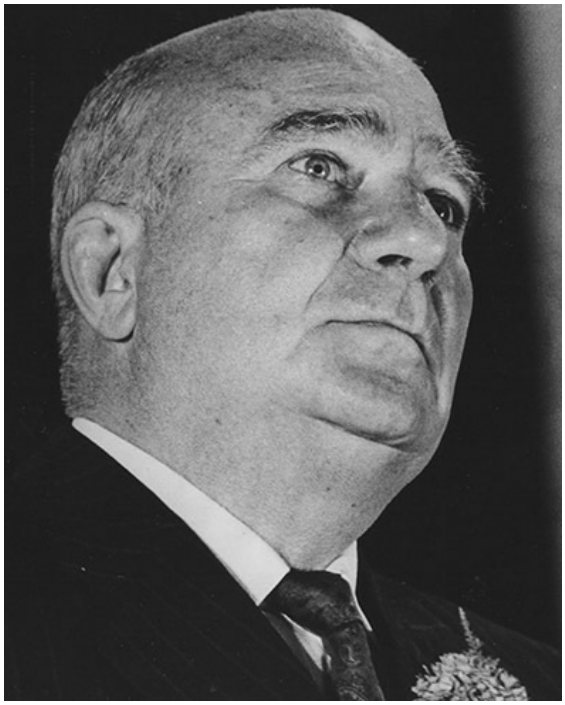


Jan Groenewald, longtime deputy leader of the AWB.



Advocate Chris Beyers, longtime editor of the official AWB magazine.

Jan Groenewald, who was to become deputy leader of the movement, met Terre'Blanche for the first time in 1968, when the young Groenewald applied to the South African police's recruitment office in Pretoria for employment in the police. Terre'Blanche happened to be the warrant officer working in the recruitment office at that stage.

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The two soon became friends, although Terre'Blanche himself was a great "John Vorster man" (that is a strong NP supporter) in those years according to Groenewald, who was by that stage already part of the discontent which would lead to the founding of the new HNP a year later.

"In 1968 Terre'Blanche took a lot of convincing to realize that there was then already something wrong with the NP," Groenewald said.

By then Vorster had relaxed former Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd's strict sports segregation policy, and was engaged in dialogue with some Black African states. Both of these policies were anathema to the hard-liners, who saw them as the first steps which would lead to the collapse of apartheid.

Groenewald was accepted into the police and stationed at the head office of the security branch in Pretoria, and both he and Terre'Blanche ended up being founding members of the new HNP.

Terre'Blanche then resigned from the police, and worked for a while at Rondalia, an Afrikaner-run holiday resort association. Groenewald himself resigned from the police in April 1970, just before the general election of that year, and took up a position as a full-time organizer for the HNP in Pretoria for the following four months.

The election proved to be disastrous for the HNP, which lost every seat it contested. Terre'Blanche himself stood for the HNP in the Eastern Transvaal seat of Heidelberg, where he lost his deposit. This scenario was repeated in virtually every seat that the HNP contested.

After the election the two men again got together and started planning another organization which would act as a right wing extra-parliamentary pressure group alongside the HNP. Thus the first notion of the AWB was formed.

Groenewald did all the basic groundwork—writing the first program of principles, constitution and devising the name and emblems.

Seven men formally founded the organization in Terre'Blanche's garage in Heidelberg on July 7, 1973—the seven men being Terre'Blanche, Groenewald, two brothers: J.J. and D.J. Jordaan, Piet Preller, Renier Oosthuizen, and Kobus Strydom. No minutes or records of any sort were kept of this secretive founding meeting. As Groenewald explained later, "those were the days of the all pervasiveness of BOSS (the Bureau of State Security, the secret service directly under Vorster's control) and we did not want them to catch wind of the organization."

This also meant that no membership lists or documentation of any kind were kept in those early years. The first membership lists were started in 1978, and membership cards were issued for the first time in that year as well.

One of the Jordaan brothers, Jorrie (J.J.), went on in later years to become the principal of a primary school, the AG Visser Primary School in Heidelberg. Still remaining active in AWB affairs, Jordaan was officially warned by the Transvaal Education Department in 1988 over his AWB affiliations and over the fact that he regularly appeared on AWB platforms as a speaker.

The AWB went out of its way to mythologize its founding. The official AWB version of the founding makes much play on the significance of the date of the formation of the movement —the seventh day of the seventh month, 1973—and of the fact that there were seven founding members—all to fit in with the claim that the organization was biblically based (in the Bible, the number seven is considered a holy figure as opposed to six, which is the number of man).

The first real meeting open to just more than the original seven men was only held three months later in a hotel in the Orange Free State town of Villiers, situated not too far from Heidelberg. There men later to play a prominent role in the group, such as Piet Rudolph and

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Corrie Jooste (son of prominent HNP figure the Reverend Jan Jooste), first became involved in the movement.

Just fewer than fifty people attended this first meeting, which was marked by Groenewald's request that the women present leave the room during the election of office bearers "as it comes from the Bible that women may not have authority over men." This rule that no woman could have authority over a man was in fact written into the AWB program of principles, which was drawn up by Groenewald.

One of the men attending that first Villiers meeting, Piet Rudolph, was known as one of the most colorful characters in right-wing politics in South Africa. Having been a member of virtually every right-wing organization going, he was instrumental in sparking off the AWB's violent campaign against the handover of South Africa to the ANC after 1990.

Rudolph has been an HNP Pretoria city councilor, a Conservative Party member, a full-time AWB official, a deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party (headed by Robert van Tonder), leader and founder of the first organized right-wing underground guerilla army, the Orde Boerevolk (the "Order of the Boer Nation"), and the secretary general of the AWB (until 1992).

At the time of the Villiers meeting Terre'Blanche was still a full-time organizer for the HNP. An organizer for the HNP in those days actually meant a fund raiser, and Terre'Blanche managed to bring in a considerable amount of money for the HNP.

As rumors of the new organization spread back to the HNP head office, party deputy leader Jaap Marais decided to act against what he saw as a possible rival organization. Terre'Blanche was contacted, and asked whether he was the leader of the AWB. Obviously fearing that his employment with the HNP might be prejudiced by any involvement with the AWB,

Terre'Blanche emphatically denied that he was even a member of the new movement. When challenged on the point, Terre'Blanche put this denial in writing in a letter which he handed to Louis Stofberg, then chief organizer for the HNP, at a special meeting between the two men at an Alberton, Johannesburg hotel. This written denial is to this day still in HNP files.

However, Corrie Jooste confirmed to his father, Jan (who was a member of the HNP), that Terre'Blanche was in fact a member of the AWB. When this was confirmed to Marais, he decided to terminate Terre'Blanche's services to and membership in the HNP. Thus soon after the founding of the AWB, Terre'Blanche found himself expelled from his political party, which only encouraged his anti-political party beliefs even further.

He then moved to Brits, a town just to the west of Pretoria, where he became an insurance salesman. Groenewald joined him there, also selling insurance for a living.

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One of the first of the AWB's countless public meetings, held in Pretoria North in 1976. Note the early AWB flag (a star, an "A" and a "W") behind Terre'Blanche, seated right. The more famous 'triple seven' flag had not yet been adopted by the movement.

During this early period the AWB held only two public meetings and one closed meeting. The two public meetings were held in Brits and Rustenburg and attracted fairly small crowds. The press, shocked at seeing the AWB emblems for the first time in public, wrote small articles reporting that a new "fringe group" had held a meeting which was "reminiscent of the Nazi rallies in the 1930s."

The one closed meeting was held at the Halfway House home (between Johannesburg and Pretoria) of a then serving South African police member, (later to be promoted to colonel), Servaas de Wet, who had also been present at the Villiers meeting. De Wet was later to be transferred away from his district when the AWB became more prominent and press reports claimed (quite correctly as De Wet's involvement proved) that the organization was recruiting members from the security forces and from leading Afrikaans lawyers.

The allegation about "recruiting lawyers" was also perfectly true—one of the earliest supporters was well-known Senior Council Chris Beyers, who later went on to play a prominent role in the AWB as editor of its official newsletter. Another early legally trained convert was Pretoria advocate Johan Rossouw.

The AWB had in the meantime also managed to attract the attention of former NP cabinet member and founder of the HNP, Albert Hertzog. The HNP's deputy leader, Jaap Marais, had maneuvered

Hertzog out of that party in 1979, blaming him for the party's poor electoral showing. In his search for a new political outlet, Hertzog threw his weight behind the AWB.

This carried with it implications far beyond Hertzog's rightwing status— apart from being a right-wing guru, Hertzog was also an astute businessman and a multimillionaire. He backed his verbal support with material support. He began secretly funding the AWB, paying the rent for its first offices in Salisbury House, Andries Street, Pretoria, in 1979. Groenewald became the AWB's first full-time employee, drawing a salary of R1000 a month (also supplied by Hertzog).

That same year the AWB moved offices to the "Das Central" building in Volkstem Avenue, Pretoria (ironically a stone's throw away from the building then housing the offices of the chief of the police).

Although possessing an office, and having just started to produce printed information pieces, the AWB was still relatively unknown and thus had only a small following. According to Groenewald the membership figures of the AWB when they first moved into their Salisbury House offices were "only a few hundred."

Despite having officially been in existence some six years, at that stage the structure of the organization itself was still far from being finalized. Interestingly enough, one of the issues which remained unresolved during this early period was that of the question of who was the actual leader.

Terre'Blanche denied being the leader of the AWB on at least three different occasions in the press in South Africa around the time when newspapers first started to take notice of the movement.

In an interview with Pieter de Klerk of the *Sunday Times,* published on April 8, 1979, Terre'Blanche claimed that although he was executive chairman of the AWB, he was not the leader, while in an interview with the Beeld newspaper of July 20, 1978, he again denied being

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the leader of the AWB, claiming he was “just a member.” In an article in the *Sunday Express*, published on July 23, 1978, Terre’Blanche claimed he was the deputy leader of the AWB, and gave an interview in that capacity to the paper.

“The statement that the real leader would still later emerge was done for two reasons,” explained Groenewald many years later.

“Firstly, it was done not to occupy any positions in case someone who was a truly great leader should come along, so that there would always be the position available for him, and secondly to deliberately increase expectations amongst any new members joining the organization that they could expect to be given leadership positions.

“Several different people were in fact approached and offered the position of leader—amongst them was Advocate Johan Rossouw, one of the early members. Rossouw however was involved in a motor accident near the town of Tzaneen, and as a result of his injuries was forced to turn the offer of leader down,” said Groenewald.

In the absence of anyone else being found, Terre’Blanche eventually took on the role of leader.

The first public action ever to be undertaken by the AWB occurred in 1977. Early in that year the government caused a small stir amongst the White public when it announced that it was considering opening a state theater (the Breyten Theater) in the nation’s capital, Pretoria, to all races. In that year such a policy move was a daring step, as up until then government policy was one of strict racial separation when it came to facilities of this sort. The opening of the theater also conflicted with the wishes of the then administrator of the Transvaal, Sybrand van Niekerk, who had declared that it was not official government policy to open public facilities to all races.

A group of liberal actors immediately took it upon themselves to promote the opening of the theater and on a Saturday morning started to circulate a petition amongst members of the public calling on the government to support the move. The actors were busy trying to collect signatures from a skeptical public in a Pretoria shopping complex when a group of about thirty-five AWB members, led by Terre’Blanche, descended on the table, exchanged a few angry words with the actors, who included amongst their numbers well-known local actress Trudie Taljaard, and then promptly proceeded to tear up every petition form into little pieces.

Liberal Afrikaner actress Trudie Taljaard looks on in shock as Terre'Blanche physically tears up

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her petition to open the state theater in Pretoria to all races.

This action was described in the newspapers as dramatic evidence of what was called the "militant" side of the AWB. The newspapers were to swallow their words in later years when the true militancy of the AWB began to show itself—in its physical clashes with National Party supporters a decade later and the bombing campaigns of the 1990s.

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CHAPTER TWO: THE TAR AND FEATHER PARTY

On March 28, 1979, a prominent Afrikaner historian, Professor Floors van Jaarsveld, was scheduled to give a lecture at the Senate Hall of the University of South Africa (UNISA) on the Day of the Covenant and its meaning for modern day South Africa.

The Day of the Covenant (also called the Day of the Vow) was regarded as a holy day in South Africa by many Afrikaners to the extent that it was celebrated, until the 1990s with an official public holiday. The new ANC government in South Africa renamed it Reconciliation Day in an attempt to depoliticize it.

The celebration dates back to the period 1836 to 1840, known as the Great Trek in South African history. During this period the trekkers, who had reached the Natal interior under their leader Piet Retief, decided to try and negotiate land rights from the Zulu king Dingaan. At first, Retief appeared to have been successful, and Dingaan offered to give the trekkers land if they recovered some cattle stolen from him by a lesser chief, one Siyonkella. This Retief and his small group proceeded to do, and they were welcomed back at the Zulu chief's capital, Ungungundlovu.

There Retief signed a written treaty with Dingaan, granting the trekkers land rights, but as proceedings drew to a close Dingaan ordered his soldiers to seize Retief and his small delegation. Retief and his men were taken to a hill just outside Dingaan's kraal and cruelly clubbed to their deaths, having been tricked into leaving their firearms outside the king's kraal. The bodies were left on the hill and as tradition forbade the removal of any personal effects from people executed on that spot, another trekker leader found Retief's body, still with the written treaty between himself and Dingaan intact, some ten months later.

Immediately after murdering Retief, Dingaan sent his army to attack the trekker camps, consisting mainly of women, children, and elderly men, who were anxiously awaiting news of Retief's negotiations with Dingaan. The attack on the trekker women and children was carried out on February 17, 1838, and saw 56 women, 185 children, and 40 elderly men slaughtered in the most gruesome fashion. The psychological effect upon the trekkers in Natal, whose total numbers at that stage were under 1000, was enormous. The site of the massacre was named Weenen (Dutch for "weeping") and has retained the name to this day.

A new trekker leader, Andries Pretorius, decided that a final showdown with the Zulus would be necessary. On November 28, 1838, he led a commando consisting of 468 trekkers, 1 Scotsman, and 2 Englishmen, all in 57 wagons, in search of Dingaan's army.

On Sunday, December 9, sensing the approaching battle with the Zulus, this relatively small group of men held a church service in the open veld at the Wasbank River, and made a pledge to the Christian God that if they were granted victory, then they and their descendants would forevermore celebrate that day "as if it were a Sabbath" in remembrance of the victory and their debt to their God. This is the Vow that is referred to in South African history, although the holiday was celebrated on December16, the date of the actual battle with the Zulu army.

On Sunday, December 15, 1838, the trekker commando arrived at the river the Zulu called the Ncome. The site had been chosen with care, since the trekker forces were expecting the Zulu attack at any moment. The wagons were drawn into a circle, called a laager in Dutch. Along the one side of the laager ran a deep natural ditch, and some thirty meters to the east ran the river. At dawn on the sixteenth, as the mist lifted, the trekker force of 471 men was confronted by a Zulu army of over fifteen thousand.

Wave after wave of Zulus attacked, and each time were forced to retreat by the trekker

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fire power. After several hours the trekkers sent out a group of men on horseback to drive the Zulu army into the corner between the ditch and the river. Here the Zulus were decimated, and many only escaped by swimming across the river. So many perished there that the river itself ran red with their blood, leading to the battle being called the Battle of Blood River. The Zulu forces were defeated and Dingaan fled.

The battle seemed all the more wondrous, seen from the trekker side, when the final casualty total was counted—more than three thousand Zulu dead and not one trekker even seriously injured.

The trekkers then negotiated with the new Zulu king, Mpande, for the same piece of land which Dingaan had given to Retief in writing, and it was granted to them. Thus came about the first independent Boer Republic in Southern Africa—and the event itself has remained to this day a strong force in Afrikaner history, especially the covenant with God, by which the victory and Afrikaner independence appeared to have been divinely sanctioned.

It was against this background that Professor Van Jaarsveld, a senior lecturer in the department of History at the University of Pretoria, claimed in an article in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* on March 25, 1979, that "the sort of man-made extra Sunday which as a result of Afrikaner tradition is forced upon the rest of the population on December 16 is based on a completely wrong interpretation of the vow."

He also claimed that in light of the government's political reform program, the Sabbath clause of the covenant should be left out as "it could give offence to other races" as well as generating conflict between the races. Pointing out that it was illogical to claim divine intervention in wars, he posed the question of whose side God was then on when the trekkers had initially been slaughtered by the Zulus.

The fledgling AWB issued a press statement the day before Van Jaarsveld's meeting, saying that they as young Afrikaners were "sick and tired" of seeing "holy Afrikaner spiritual values" being degraded and desanctified by "false prophets." Few people attached any significance to the statement, and only one small newspaper bothered to print it.

Van Jaarsveld's call for the day to be desanctified led directly to an astonishing event which was to propel Terre'Blanche and the AWB into the news headlines—he and his small group of men decided to tar and feather Van Jaarsveld. His comments had gained much notoriety, thus the announcement that he was to give a public lecture presented an opportunity for the fledgling AWB which was too good to turn down.

The AWB laid its plans well for the evening of the lecture. One man stood outside the lecture hall with a two-way radio, and gave the signal to a group of forty-six others who were waiting outside the university grounds that the meeting was in progress. Wearing suits, the men arrived at the entrance to the hall, and claiming that they wanted to attend the lecture but were unfortunately late, managed to bluff their way into the lecture hall. As Van Jaarsveld was addressing his audience, which included Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the then Zulu homeland and later leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the academic calm was shattered when Terre'Blanche noisily led his men into the hall.

Groenewald recalled later that the sight of Buthelezi sinking down behind the lecture desk at which he sat was the most memorable scene of the whole evening, "I will never forget him sinking down behind his desk, eyes as big as saucers," Groenewald said.

"Buthelezi, who was sitting in the first row, sank completely behind his bench and one of the men even tried to take a swipe at him with a whip, but because he had sunk so far behind the desk he was not hit."

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Suddenly producing old Transvaal Republic flags, called “Vierkleurs” (four color), a bucket of tar and a sack of feathers, the men stormed down the center aisle of the lecture hall while a silent and puzzled Van Jaarsveld looked on.

Terre’Blanche himself carried a small horse whip. “I was ready to whip anybody who mocked us,” he later said.

The men then took over the front of the hall. Taking the microphone from Van Jaarsveld, Terre’Blanche apologized to the audience for the disturbance. He announced that the “Boer people” could never stand by and watch how a day as holy as the Day of the Covenant could be desanctified in such a manner. Several of the men then grabbed Van Jaarsveld, lifted him up by his arms and legs and then threw the tar over him. Another man then threw feathers over the tarred professor.

As the men were leaving, one of the last ones out cracked a whip, causing an Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, journalist Piet Muller to cry out “Now they are shooting at us!” plunging the hall into considerable confusion and fear. The group then promptly left the premises, leaving behind a scene of total chaos.

Tarred and feathered: Floors van Jaarsveld becomes the first public victim of the AWB.

The tarring and feathering took place on a Wednesday, and on the Friday thereafter Groenewald became the first AWB man ever to be detained by the police. Although identified as a member of the group who had attacked the professor, he refused to divulge the names of any of

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the others, despite threats from the police to detain him for several weeks if necessary. Realizing that he was not going to give the names, the police then released him the same day.

The police were, however, able to identify fourteen of the men from descriptions given to them by the audience, and within a week charges had been laid against Terre'Blanche and thirteen other men.

The charges included one of assault on Van Jaarsveld, trespassing on the property of the University, crimen injuria, and two charges of malicious damage to property which related to the damaging of Van Jaarsveld's clothing and a carpet at the university.

Pandemonium erupted in the press, most of whom had never even heard of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or Terre'Blanche and one large report even referred to "a man calling himself Eugene Terre'Blanche." All of a sudden everyone knew of the AWB—and the movement gained reams of free publicity by this unconventional act.

Eventually charges were officially formulated against thirteen men, and they all appeared in court on June 13, 1979, again attracting great publicity. Ten of the men: Pieter Nortje, Koos Vermeulen, Jan Rossouw, Herman Victor, Marthinus van der Merwe, Jan Schutte, Petrus Victor, Jan Groenewald, Eugene Terre'Blanche, and Cornelius Jooste, had their charges confirmed by the court. Charges against the other three men, Johannes Jacobus ("JJ") Jordaan, Johannes Rudolph ("JR") Jordaan and Hirma Kendall were withdrawn.

Terre'Blanche told the packed court that he wanted to register at the symposium where the lecture was going to be held in order to state his views, but that he had been prevented from doing so and that because there was no other way to protest he had made the decision to tar and feather the academic. He admitted that he had supplied a brush and the tar. The court remained silent when Terre'Blanche said the men had, after the completion of their mission, gone to the massive Voortrekker monument outside Pretoria to say a prayer of thanksgiving.

Terre'Blanche further told the court that the incident had nothing to do with the person of Van Jaarsveld, but only about the sanctity of the Day of the Covenant. He said he had instructed four of his men to hold Van Jaarsveld down to avoid any struggling—and thereby try to avoid damaging any university property—while the tarring and feathering was completed.

In written statements handed in as evidence, the ten men admitted tarring and feathering Van Jaarsveld. The court found the men guilty of libeling Van Jaarsveld (called crimen injuria in South African law) and of malicious damage to property. Sentence was passed on June 29, 1979.

Terre'Blanche was sentenced to a 600 Rand fine or 300 days imprisonment on the libel charge, with the other nine being fined R400 (or 200 days) on the same charge. The sentences were suspended conditionally for three years. On the charge of malicious damage the ten men were fined R300 (or 150 days), also suspended conditionally for three years.

A group picture of the accused in the "Tar and Feather" case outside court 26, Pretoria

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Magistrate Court, 1980. Jan Groenewald, left, next to him, Terre'Blanche, and on the far right, Koos Vermeuelen, later to found the Afrikaner National Socialists.

While passing sentence magistrate J.F. Mostert noted that it was not the court's function to decide how the Day of the Covenant should be celebrated or to decide whether the professor's opinions were right or wrong. The court did however accept that the Day of the Covenant was sacred to the accused and that Professor Van Jaarsveld's statements must have made them very unhappy.

A special fund to cover legal costs was established, which gathered together some several thousands of rands. One donation in particular from an unnamed farmer in the district of Middelburg in the Transvaal amounted to R50, 000. The fines the men received were all paid at the court out of this fund by a sympathetic Christian minister, Herman Rex, who was treasurer of the specially started fund.

The trial over, Terre'Blanche and his men left the courtroom to a small crowds' welcome outside the building. The crowd formed two rows on either sides of the steps leading down from the court building, and each person held aloft a small four color Transvaal flag. A banner reading "For Survival No Price Is Too High" was held aloft by the ever present Piet Rudolph and another man, while on either side of the banner two huge four color flags were displayed.

These dramatic publicity catching moves soon started to pay off, and it was not too long after that the AWB began moving into top gear, its image as a protector of traditional and sacred Afrikaner institutions and values boosted tremendously by the whole incident.

Albert Hertzog remarked in public soon after the incident that he admired "the courage of the men who had tarred and feathered Van Jaarsveld." He said that he expected this "type of reaction" and predicted that it would occur even more in the future.

Following on the tarring and feathering of Van Jaarsveld, a spate of tar and feather threats were made, probably by copycat militants, who saw it as an effective way of striking at least a small amount of fear into the hearts of those who publicly opposed apartheid.

In this manner two Afrikaans newspaper men, Arthur Lake, editor of the *Hoofstad* newspaper in Pretoria, and Piet Muller, head of the *Beeld's* Pretoria office also received tar and feather threats.

Callers purporting to be from the AWB also telephoned and threatened three University of the Witwatersrand lecturers, Professor Ernest Liebenberg, Dr. Ampie Coetzee, John Miles, and a University of South Africa administration worker Sam van den Berg, all known for their liberal leanings. One of the men involved in the Van Jaarsveld attack—CJ (Corrie) Jooste, however denied that the AWB had organized the threats.

Even once the trial was over, Terre'Blanche and Van Jaarsveld continued to heap scorn and abuse over each other, with Terre'Blanche saying that Van Jaarsveld was in "the dangerous position of influencing the youth through his leftist views. During the course of the trial, he showed himself to be an ultra-leftist," said Terre'Blanche.

He justified the tarring and feathering, saying that Van Jaarsveld was launching a "deadly, well planned and cold blooded attack on Afrikaner Nationalism" and against the "soul of the Afrikaner."

Van Jaarsveld himself replied in kind. The AWB, he said, "are un-South African, un-Afrikaner and a danger to the nation." He said that from a study he had made of the AWB it was "obvious that they are anti-Semitic and that they stand for an Afrikaner dictatorship. This is something that has blown over from Nazi Germany." Van Jaarsveld was however, not to be left in peace. The next year, 1980, he was at home working in his study when he got up to go and

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drink some tea in the lounge. Less than five minutes after he stood up a 32 cm steel crossbow arrow, shot from outside his house, smashed through the study window and lodged itself in the opposite wall. Had Van Jaarsveld been standing in his study, it would have gone right through him. No one was ever arrested for the incident, even though his wife received telephonic death threats the next day.

It also became apparent that Van Jaarsveld was regarded as an outcast after the tar and feather incident. Previously a popular guest speaker at historical functions, since the incident he has not been asked to speak at one Day of the Vow celebration, whereas before he had been booked to speak as much as four years in advance.

Although the AWB had previously held two public meetings, a gathering held immediately following the tar and feather incident was the first to receive large publicity. It was also then that the media was able to see the AWB's first program of principles and judge for themselves whether Van Jaarsveld had been correct in his interpretation of AWB policy.

The meeting, held on April 11, 1979, at the Pretoria North town hall, drew about two hundred people. Although in terms of turnout compared to later meetings it was small, nonetheless in 1979 it was a fair-sized audience for the movement.

Terre'Blanche was just beginning to develop his talent as a public speaker, and was not at that stage the master of the spoken word that he became some five or six years later. Addressing each other as "comrade," Terre'Blanche and movement secretary Jan Groenewald addressed their audience underneath an early (and subsequently discontinued) AWB emblem, a four pointed star with an "A" and a "W" transposed onto it.

At the meeting a program of principles was for the first time made available in booklet form. This program was kept as the official AWB program of principles until 1988 when they were revised.

A feature of the first set of principles was the copious anti-Semitic statements and references to "the White race." By the time the second program of principles was written, the emphasis had fallen away from race and onto culture, with the result that the word "race" did not even appear in the second version.

There is also no reference to Jews in the second edition of principles—although the very first reference to Jews appears in the introductory letter which accompanied the first program of principles.

"To all fellow Afrikaners! The AWB introduces itself to you, not as an organization with new and unreasonable claims, but as the movement which is the medium to the continued struggle for Christian self-preservation," began the first program.

"Nineteen centuries ago the Christians decided to offer resistance when the Jews crucified Christ. He (the Christian) became a soldier and fighter, for he had to fight and to offer resistance against the devious methods of the anti-Christ. The Afrikaner volk, true to generations past, has not disturbed that continuity. He rose up and offered resistance when the Christian National view was threatened by an Anglo-Saxon world."

"True to the methods of the anti-Christ, which resides in International Judaism, (this anti-Christ) has carefully stretched its tentacles around the resources of the fatherland. With the help of a denationalized government the Afrikaner has been disinherited of his greatest asset—the natural wealth of his land."

(This world Jewish conspiracy concept is not new or original to South Africa or the AWB. The belief that "International Jewry" controls the world's finances and minerals is one that has been propagated many times worldwide, notably in a Russian document The Protocols

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of the Learned Elders of Zion which claims to be the minutes of a meeting of Jewish elders credited with controlling the world. The "world Jewish conspiracy" theory was also propagated by the German Nazis.)

Even the political party parliamentary system was dismissed as being of "British-Jewish" origin and being especially designed to divide and weaken the "volk."

The AWB announced that it was opposed to party politics, and instead believed in a meritocracy, where only individuals could stand for election in their own right. Such candidates would not be connected to any formal political grouping, as had been the case in the former Boer republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal.

The AWB also proposed in addition to the non-party system of public representatives, a system whereby groups of professional people—that is, doctors, lawyers, engineers etc.—should also be allowed to elect special representatives from within their ranks to represent their particular professions at government level. This, the AWB argued, would ensure that a lawyer would be concerned with the ministry of justice, a policeman with the ministry of police, a doctor with the ministry of health and so on.

Despite a principle calling for elections every five years to "test the volk's will," the AWB acknowledged that a dictatorship might emerge from the system. "Democracy leads to a weakening of race consciousness. If a dictatorship should evolve under AWB rule then at least the identity of the White race will be assured. A people who have bastardized are doomed to final collapse. As long as the race remains biologically pure, the possibility and probability of rebirth and resistance is always there," stated the policy booklet.

Other statements of intent in the program were no less outspoken or controversial. The aim of the AWB was, according to section 3 (c): "to reveal the attack on the spirit and body of the White race of the common enemy as carried out by the anti-Christ forces—the spirit of which is centered in communism, Zionism and the liberal ideology."

From left to right, Albert Hertzog, Connie Mulder and Eugene Terre'Blance at a Day of the Vow commemoration, December 1978.

The purpose of the AWB's state would, according to section 4 (a) be "the maintenance

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and strengthening of the Christian White race . . . and therefore the AWB demands that the traditional principle of division between White and non-White must be maintained."

Specifying that only members of the "White race who have proven their undivided loyalty to the Republic" would be eligible for citizenship of the country under an AWB government, the program went on to state that no White foreigner would be given citizenship unless he or she was proficient in the Afrikaans language.

Press groups that were hostile or indifferent to "the national moral and ethical values of the Afrikaner Volk" would be also replaced by a responsible Afrikaans national press under an AWB government.

As for the economy, the AWB declared itself very much in favor of the nationalization of natural resources in order to take away control of the mineral wealth from the "volks alien companies." It also advocated that control of basic industries by foreign companies should be stopped, and in certain instances these industries should be nationalized. Land owned by foreigners should be confiscated for communal use and speculation in land should be outlawed.

The program also proposed that medical services should be given free to mothers and children by the state—a policy which was ironically, and most certainly unknowingly, later implemented by the Black ANC government of South Africa!

As for the other races in South Africa, the AWB believed that the Blacks should be granted sovereign independent homelands on condition that Whites were protected in all respects of equalization and domination, and that with consideration to existing labor needs. Black labor would be reabsorbed into their own areas making these regions economically viable.

The Western Cape mixed-race population (called Coloureds in South Africa) should also be given their own state with a geographical basis as is necessary and realistic for their interests, said the program.

Indians on the other hand, were given short treatment: "The Indian is an alien object in the South African fabric, and as such he has no claim to joint authority in the country. Limited self-government in their own area will be considered, but there can be no talk whatsoever of residence or business rights in White areas."

The last section of the booklet discussed the then official emblem of the movement: a four pointed star entwined with the letters "A" and "W". It said the four pointed star was in opposition to the six pointed star of "International political Zionism" and its derivate, the five pointed star of communism which was representative of "a satanically manifested striving of the Anti-Christ."

The star was shortly thereafter dropped as the official emblem in favor of the far better known "three sevens" emblem.

In 1979 the AWB decided to register a political party with the Department of the Interior, as required by law for any party wishing to contest elections in South Africa. On October 10, 1979, just over one hundred AWB members gathered at a meeting on Groenewald's plot in Northern Pretoria and signed the official form required by the Department of the Interior to register a political party.

"We all agreed that a party would serve four basic purposes," Groenewald said later. "Firstly, it would serve as a guarantee that we aimed to achieve our freedom constitutionally; secondly to help establish the Volkstaat ("nation state") idea in the community; thirdly we all undertook never to activate it against any other right-wing party; and fourthly to provide a legally registered front for which we could gather funds in terms of the law regarding the collection of funds."

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The following week the Blanke Volkstaatparty (BVP—White People's State Party) was registered in Pretoria. Despite assurances to the contrary, the new party seemed initially very keen to take part in elections.

Fiery Piet Rudolph, who had in the meantime been appointed to the post of organizing secretary for the AWB, announced that the BVP was definitely going to contest parliamentary elections even "though the BVP is opposed to the party political system."

The BVP, which became much better known as the "tar and feather party," then started holding meetings throughout the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The BVP was however never activated for use in contesting parliamentary elections. The closest it ever came to such a step was before the 1989 general election when Terre'Blanche himself considered running for parliament.

Initially attracting only small audiences, Terre'Blanche's undeniable oratorical abilities began to take form, and he was soon able to attract bigger and bigger crowds. One of the best examples of how Terre'Blanche's speaking powers and also his acceptability changed was the two meetings he held—less than two years apart—at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

Speaking at a meeting held at the university on October 16, 1979, Terre'Blanche laid out his alternatives to an openly hostile student audience.

Two years later, on October 2, 1981, Terre'Blanche addressed another far bigger crowd of students at the university, and was loudly applauded and not interrupted at all, even though his message was far more blunt than before.

One of the more ironic early actions of the AWB and of Terre'Blanche personally was the disruption of a National Party meeting in Fochville in the Southern Transvaal, where the guest speaker was the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Treurnicht, who later became leader of the opposition in parliament as head of the right-wing Conservative Party of South Africa, was known as a conservative at that stage already, having earned the nickname of "Dr. No" because of his opposition to the NP's then cautious reform program.

On November 14, 1979, however, Treurnicht was still in the NP and thus a legitimate target for the right wing's attacks. During the NP public meeting held that night, Terre'Blanche and about one hundred AWB men created such a disturbance that the police were forced to intervene to restore order.

At the beginning of the meeting Terre'Blanche called for a new chairman to be elected to replace the National Party chairman of the meeting, and this request was, not surprisingly, turned down. The AWB contingent then created such uproar that the meeting was declared closed to non-National Party members. The police were asked to remove the AWB crowd. After a few words with police, the AWB left the hall, and the meeting continued in peace.

Ironically, during his speech Treurnicht attacked those Afrikaner religious establishment figures who were talking of scrapping the laws prohibiting interracial sex and marriage. How different the scene would be in just a few years when Treurnicht would be out of the National Party partly for just such a shift in policy, and the AWB would still be breaking up National Party meetings for the same reasons it broke up his meeting in 1979.

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CHAPTER THREE: THE RIGHT WING BUILDUP

The years 1980 to 1986 saw the emergence, for the first time since the National Party took power in 1948, of a powerful right-wing grouping independent of the government. Although the National Party under John Vorster had easily won the 1977 general election and had crushed the Herstige Nasionale Party (HNP) to the point where that party had only managed to poll some thirty thousand votes nationally in 1977—rightwing sentiment began to build up after 1979.

This was due to the new Prime Minister P.W. Botha's announcement that Afrikaners had to "adapt or die" which he made within the first few months of becoming prime minister in 1978. A series of by-elections showed a massive swing to the HNP which gave the government serious cause for concern.

Former National Party Transvaal leader, Dr Connie Mulder, who had been forced out of the party in the wake of the exposing of an undercover foreign affairs propaganda operation (called the "information scandal") had, soon after his ousting from the NP, formed a new political party called the National Conservative Party (NCP). The NCP took up a position to the right of the NP and entered into an informal working alliance with the HNP.

The AWB was not inactive during this period. Denied access to the media, Terre'Blanche took it upon himself to embark on a punishing series of public meetings and public actions across the country to spread his message. These meetings were held as often as two or three times a week, and included AWB organized special events, such as Day of the Vow rallies.

The most notable of these was held in December 1980, when an AWB march took place in central Pretoria despite having been banned from doing so by the government. In an attempt to play down any potential publicity, the police took no action against the marchers, even though security policemen moved amongst the crowd to keep an eye on things.

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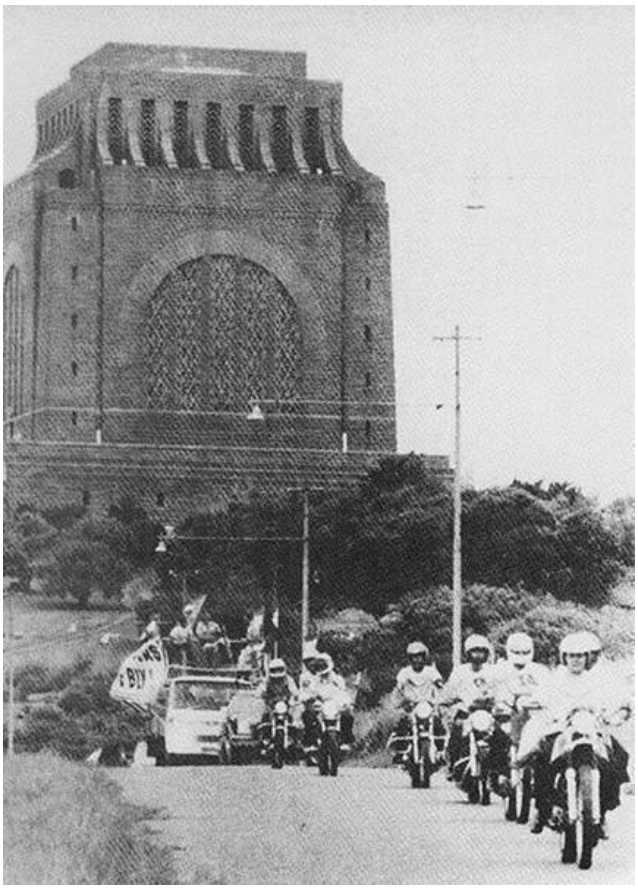

December 1980: The AWB rallies in Pretoria, from the Voortrekker Monument (background) to the city center of Pretoria.

A motorcycle club, the “Knights of Vanderbijl Park” also took part in the procession and from their participation came the idea to form an AWB motorcycle group, later to become known as the “Stormvalke” or Storm Falcons.

The HNP had in the meantime regathered its strength, and by cleverly exploiting dissatisfaction within the ranks of the NP, managed to poll some 200,000 votes in the May 1981 election. This was some 14% of the votes cast, but because of the “first past the post” electoral system, the HNP did not manage to win any seats in parliament. Mulder’s NCP had entered into an informal alliance with the HNP and had managed to do fairly well in the few seats it contested. Mulder himself stood in his old seat of Randfontein, and came to within a few hundred votes of winning it back from the NP.

Mulder announced at his party’s congress on September 11, 1981 that a new umbrella right-wing organization was to be formed in an attempt to create a united front against the NP, following on the relatively good right-wing vote in that year’s election. The body, to be known as the ARBSA (Aksie Red Blank Suid-Afrika,—Action to Save White South Africa) would consist of the NCP, the AWB, and three right-wing splinter groups: the Kappie Kommando (literally the Bonnet Commando, an organization of Afrikaner women so named because of the sunbonnets worn originally by trekker women); the Aksie Eie Toekoms (Action Own Future) splinter group belonging to a classics professor, Willie Lubbe, and a group of English speakers called the South Africa First Campaign (SAFC) from Natal.

This SAFC was set up by a British expatriate, Brendan Wilmer, living in Durban. Wilmer

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had come to South Africa after many years' involvement in the right wing in the United Kingdom, including a spell in the National Socialist Movement of British National Socialist leader Colin Jordan during the 1960s.

Mulder also announced at the same time that he was satisfied that the AWB was not neo-Nazi. "I am convinced it is not (neo-Nazi), despite the media image which some newspapers have created," Mulder said.

ARBSA was officially launched on September 16, 1981, with the former head of the South African Defense Force Medical Corps, General Colin Cockroft, as its leader. ARBSA played an important role in consolidating the right-wing forces, including a joint 1981 Day of the Vow service, and its propaganda work was instrumental in the breakaway the following year of some NP MPs to form the Conservative Party of South Africa.

ARBSA had one important missing partner —the HNP, which refused to join. The HNP also began moving against some of its members who were involved with the AWB. HNP leader Jaap Marais announced at his party's congress, also held in September of 1981, that a member of the HNP's general council had been removed from his post after he had appeared on a platform with Terre'Blanche at two meetings in Bapsfontein and Standerton.

Marais said that he had decided to remove Frik Annandale, the party's Meyerton constituency representative, from the council in order to bring home to party members that no relationship "with the AWB or any other political grouping would be tolerated."

The HNP's attitude toward the AWB all the years prior to 1989 (when the HNP suddenly formed an alliance with the AWB) was concisely summed up by that party's sole MP, Louis Stofberg, who, when addressing the 1986 Pretoria HNP congress, said any member of the HNP who joined the AWB automatically lost his membership of the party. Both he and party leader Jaap Marais said that the AWB wanted a dictatorship which was in conflict with the HNP's commitment to the parliamentary process.

Shortly after the tar and feather incident and trial, Terre'Blanche and the Head Council of the AWB decided that a fund should be started to build a monument reconfirming the Blood River Vow and to give thanks to the Christian God for saving the Voortrekkers and their Boer descendants. Contributions poured into the fund, and a well-known local artist, Nick Joubert, was given instructions to design the monument. It was decided to erect the monument in Terre'Blanche's hometown of Ventersdorp. Early in 1982 about five hundred AWB supporters gathered in Ventersdorp for the official ceremony to mark the unveiling of the monument. In melodramatic style the vow made by the trekkers just before the Battle of Blood River was read again with the crowd rededicating themselves to it.

December 1981: The AWB rallies on the Battle of Blood River site in northern Natal. Above: The

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AWB arrives at the terrain, and left: Terre'Blanche leads the assembled AWB members in prayer. Below: the AWB leadership team in the wagon monument enclosure inside the Blood River complex, where the wagon circle has been recreated in concrete.

The monument itself is made of steel, and consists of a map of South Africa resting on a huge Bible. An ox wagon wheel rests on the outline of the country, and the whole structure is crowned by a needle pointing skywards, with a slightly smaller Bible near the point. Incredibly, the monument stands to this day in the town center of Ventersdorp, complete with triple seven emblems and all. Next to it stands another AWB monument, built much later, which has inscribed on it the names of AWB members "killed in action" during violent activities. The monument still stands: in 2005, the town's then ANC-controlled local authorities dismissed calls for the monuments to be pulled down, saying it is part of the town's history.

The year 1982 saw the founding of the Conservative Party (CP), which for a while looked like a serious contender to remove the NP from power. The party was formed after senior party members, including cabinet minister Andries Treurnicht, refused to endorse an NP caucus resolution giving the right to the then prime minister P.W. Botha to "interpret" NP policy—in effect giving him free rein to change the party's policy.

On February 24, 1982, the usual midweek NP caucus meeting ended in disarray when twenty-two NP MPs voted against the resolution which included a motion of confidence in P.W. Botha. The first NP MP to leave the caucus meeting was one Koos van der Merwe, who stormed past waiting journalists saying that he "was finished with the prog P.W. Botha!" (A "prog" was a derisive term for a member of the anti-Apartheid Progressive Party.) Van der Merwe went on to become the Conservative Party's spokesman on defense, and even later underwent another much more incredible transformation, becoming the Inkatha Freedom Party's chief whip and being elected to the first one man one vote parliament for that Zulu based party in 1994.

Treurnicht's rebels were whittled down to twelve MPs and four provincial councilors who were all expelled from the NP, but it soon became apparent that the rebels had a wide following amongst grassroots Nationalists.

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1982: The National Party splits. The scene outside the NP's Transvaal Federal Council meeting where the party's Transvaal leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, was expelled after leading a parliamentary rebellion against the cautious reforms of the P.W. Botha government. The banners read: "Quo Vadis: it is the hour, Dr. Treurnicht" and "Away with PW" (Botha). The demonstration was marked by women wearing the traditional Afrikaner Voortrekker dress with bonnets. This group was later to coalesce into the "Kappie Kommndao" ("bonnet commando").

Ten thousand people attended the launch of the Conservative Party in Pretoria on March 20, 1982. Within a few months the NP failed in two provincial by-elections in the Transvaal to get more votes than the CP and HNP combined, and in a parliamentary by-election in Parys in the Orange Free State got only ten more votes than the combined right wing. Parys fell to the CP in the 1989 general election.

The founding of the Conservative Party was warmly received by the AWB. Addressing a meeting of eight hundred people at the Pretoria City Hall in March of 1982, Terre'Blanche claimed part of the credit for the split in the NP, saying that "(T)he AWB helped split the NP by warning of the grave dangers of power sharing."

In the next year, the CP became the first party to the right of the NP to win a seat from the government when Treurnicht retained the seat of Waterberg after being challenged to resign and fight the seat in a test of strength by the NP. The Waterberg seat was one of three by-elections held in that year, and in the other two seats the NP just managed to squeak home ahead of the still rival right-wing parties: the HNP and CP.

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Dr. Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, wins the Waterberg parliamentary seat for his party in 1982: the first parliamentary loss to the right that the National Party had suffered since 1948.

One of these by-elections was the Waterkloof seat in the NP stronghold of Eastern Pretoria. As part of a campaign to support the CP in this seat, the AWB went out of its way to disrupt NP public meetings in that constituency.

One such meeting was addressed by the minister of Constitutional Development, Chris Heunis, in March of that year. The public address system had been sabotaged, forcing Heunis to speak without the advantage of a microphone. Added to this about a third of the audience were AWB and CP supporters, who from the beginning heckled just as loudly as Heunis was able to speak. Dries Alberts, AWB director of Publicity, used his booming voice to great effect while AWB secretary Jan Groenewald led a continual chanting from the back of the hall.

The then Prime Minister P.W. Botha addressed an even more chaotic public meeting in the Waterkloof constituency in April, and the AWB put on an extra special performance for him. AWB supporters heckled Botha for more than two hours, causing NP Transvaal leader F.W. de Klerk to take the platform and apologize to the prime minister for the disruptions.

Eventually the disturbances led to a vicious fistfight between the AWBs and the NPs. The meeting began at 7:30 p.m., but it was only at 9:00 p.m. when Botha finally managed to get a chance to speak.

At four minutes past nine chaos once again broke out, and the chairman of the meeting called upon members of the audience to assist him to regain order.

At that moment Jan Groenewald stood up for the umpteenth time to challenge a statement

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made by Botha. Someone shouted out that he was the secretary of the AWB and three NP supporters grabbed him. A violent fistfight then broke out amongst the audience.

Groenewald's jacket was torn off and he and another AWB man were knocked to the ground, where they were punched and kicked by NP supporters.

The entire audience had in the meantime stood up for a better view of the fistfight, and only sat down when Botha asked them to do so. He then thanked the audience for helping to restore law and order and announced that he was going to Cape Town the following day to order the minister of Law and Order to launch an official investigation into the AWB.

"I cannot allow the AWB to act in this manner at public meetings. It is time we expose these people," he said. "We will deal with these people within the limits of the law of the land. We cannot allow them to spread disorder."

This was widely regarded as having been said tongue-in-cheek, as it was clear that the NP supporters had started the fistfight, albeit under loud heckling from the AWB men. Botha also repeatedly described Dries Alberts as an orangutan, and referred to the hecklers as "White barbarians" who were a "disgrace to Afrikanerdom."

Botha also called on Treurnicht to unconditionally cut all ties with the AWB. A defiant Treurnicht replied the next day from his constituency (where he was feverishly working to retain the seat) dismissing Botha's announcement as "nothing new. Why is the AWB only being investigated now? Why has it taken Mr. Botha so long to have an enquiry?" he asked. "I called for an enquiry into the AWB last year. There could be an investigation into the AWB similar to the one into NUSAS (a left-wing student organization) and other organizations a few years ago. The findings should then be made known. The prime minister cannot expect me to disassociate myself from an organization even before it has been investigated."

The AWB then announced that it was laying charges against P.W. Botha and the chairman of the Waterkloof meeting, Minister of Education and Training Danie Steyn, over the assault on Jan Groenewald. The AWB said both Steyn and Botha had encouraged members of the audience to attack Groenewald and another AWB man.

Dries Alberts then also laid a charge of crimen injuria (slander) against Botha for referring to him as "you with the orangutan face." Alberts claimed that the attendant publicity had caused him to lose several work assignments (he was working as a freelance actor at the time). The South African Broadcasting Corporation, in fact, even refilmed a scene from a TV series which had featured Alberts, the second time using another actor in Albert's place.

The two dockets were handed to the Attorney General of the Transvaal for his decision, who at the beginning of November 1983 announced that there would be no prosecutions under either charges. No reason was given for the decision.

Stung by the loss of the Waterberg seat to the CP, the NP tried to kill the CP at birth by then calling out a referendum on whether or not to proceed with a reform program which would bring Indians and Coloureds into parliament for the first time. Most of the AWB's public meetings during 1983 were devoted to attempts to generate a "no vote" in the referendum.

Terre'Blanche held public meetings across the length and breadth of the country, continually telling his audiences that such a system would mean the end of the sovereignty of the White parliament. Despite the right wing's efforts, the referendum produced a "yes vote" majority of some 66 percent of the total vote. This was most certainly in part due to the fact that the HNP and CP simply refused to cooperate with each other, with the former being suspicious of the latter and the CP in its turn regarding the HNP as losers with whom it did not want to associate.

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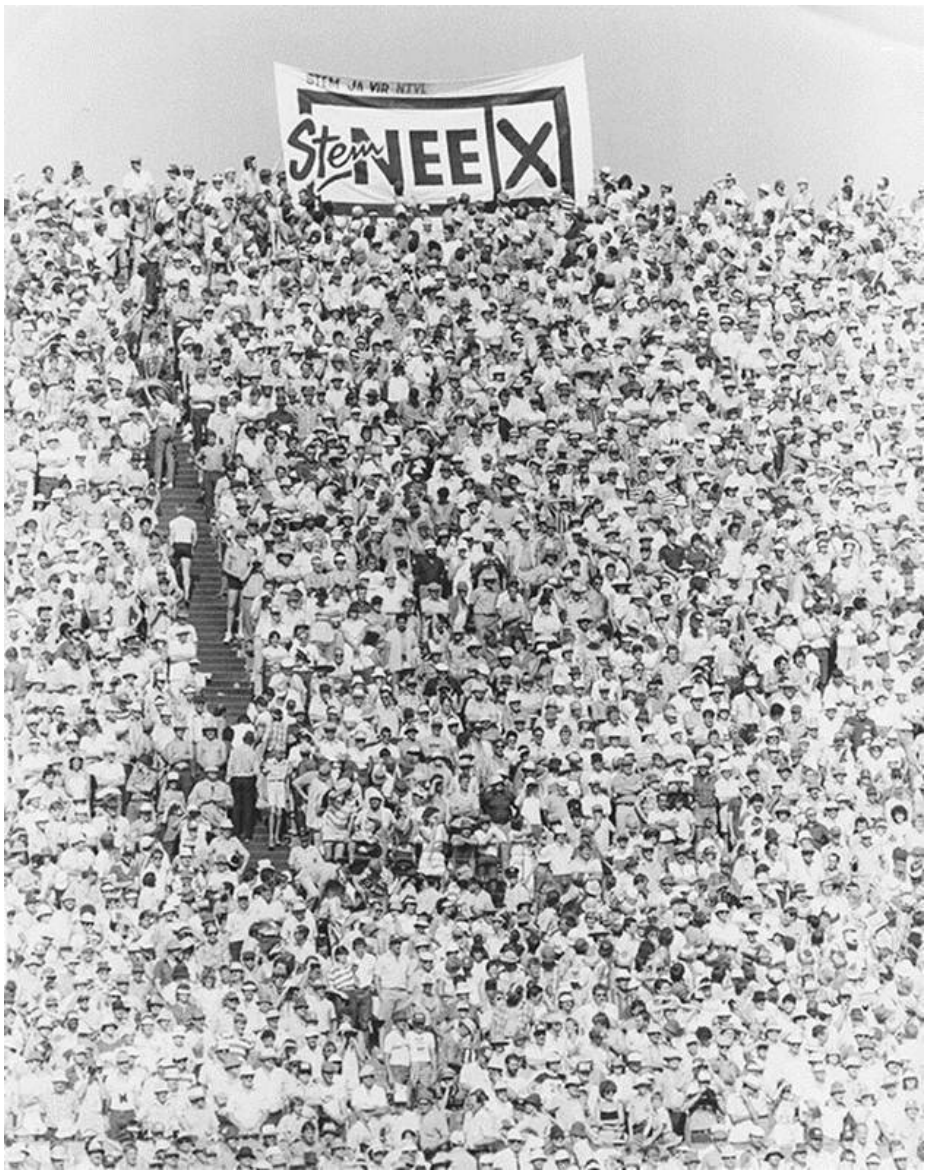

A "Vote No" supporting crowd rallies in the 1983 referendum on the P.W. Botha government's reforms to grant Coloreds (mixed-race persons under Apartheid nomenclature) and Indians the vote in South Africa. Sixty-six percent of the White voters voted yes.

From 1948, when the NP first came to power, right up until the ANC came to power in 1994, Afrikaans society and South Africa in general was dominated by a secret Afrikaans organization called the “Afrikaner Broederbond” (AB)—or in English, the “Brother Bond.”

This secret organization, which was founded by a group of diehard Afrikaners in 1918, worked much like the Freemasons “help each other” system and has over the years shaped and planned the destiny of South Africa long before these plans became public.

The Broederbond ensured that its members, which at its height only totaled just over twelve thousand, were strategically placed in the civil service (virtually every prime minister and cabinet member were AB men) and in the private sector so that any decisions it made would always translate into public policy. It was thus a very powerful organization, but with the advent of ANC rule it has of course shrunk in power dramatically and it eventually opened its doors to

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all races, although still retaining its males-only requirement.

With the split in the NP in 1982, a fierce battle was waged for control of the Broederbond between the pro-reformists and the anti-reformists.

By carefully staging the final showdown in the Cape, P.W. Botha managed to clinch the struggle when Treurnicht could not get down to the meeting in time to argue his case. The Broederbond remained supportive of the NP.

A founder member of the AB, Henning Kloppers, was one of the conservative breakaways in 1982 and he now found himself cut off from the organization which he had put on the road with only a handful of people all those years ago. Teaming up with assassinated Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd's daughter and son-in-law, Anna and Carel Boshoff, Kloppers decided to start yet another Afrikaner cultural organization which he hoped would eventually do battle with the Broederbond and take over its role. Thus it was that the Afrikaner Volkswag (Afrikaner People's Guard or AVW for short) came into being.

Eventually a sort of stalemate emerged between the AVW and the Broederbond, particularly in their battle for cultural matters, to the extent that the two organizations held rival celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek in 1988. After the ANC takeover of South Africa in 1994, the influence of the AVW declined dramatically and the organization all but vanished.

However, the situation was very different in 1984, and immense amounts of preparation went into the founding meeting of the AVW, which was formally constituted in Pretoria on May 5, 1984.

Terre'Blanche, Treurnicht, and HNP leader Jaap Marais were all guest speakers and patrons of the AVW—a remarkable achievement in itself, as this was the first time that all four right-wingers agreed to cooperate with each other at a joint rally.

The two day founding AVW congress was, however, dominated by Terre'Blanche, who was given his first full coverage on television.

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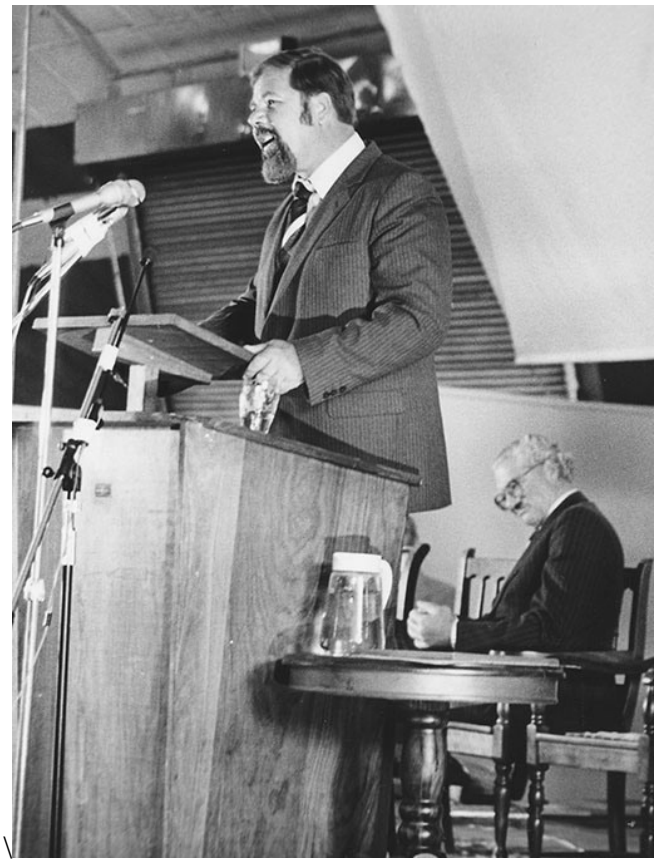

Terre'Blanche in full flight at the founding of the Afrikaner Volkswag, 1984, giving what can be regarded as his best speech ever. In the background on the right, seated, is Professor Carel Boshoff, who still later became famous as the founder of the Afrikaner separatist town of Orania.

Terre’Blanche first used some of his considerable vocal ability to read out part of a

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popular Afrikaans poem during a cultural interlude, and then went on to give a proper speech, which served as the introduction to the motion to the founding of the Afrikaner Volkswag. Appearing on stage before the eight thousand strong audience, Terre'Blanche gave a truly dramatic performance which attracted worldwide media coverage.

"They came from the sea, the White people of this country," he began in a soft voice, gradually building up to a rousing crescendo. "Not because they wanted to, but because their ship stranded and they had to.

"Because for many dark years Africa had lain and waited for civilization to come to it. For thousands of years when older civilizations had been established and had fallen, this land had stood empty and uninhabited, waiting for the nation that God chose should come here.

"It was not meant for the Greeks in their glory (to settle here). It was not meant for the Romans. It would eventually be a small Western nation which would come and establish a tribe here. It would eventually be a small people, chosen by the hand of our Lord. It would eventually be the Protestant and the Huguenot. And in the heart of these people they immediately knew that here was a land, a land which with all its power could give riches to those who sought it, an ideal trading station.

"And Van Riebeeck and the Dutch East India Company said a trading station, but God said, a White nation. And the White man and the new White people became like their land. He became as hard as his land. He became as pure and as strong. And out of the valleys and plains he created for himself a new language which gave expression to that new beauty, and he carried it with him into the hinterland.

"And he walked the bitterest path of suffering that he could. But he walked that path, with man, woman, and child, and the mother carried a baby at her breast. The Afrikaners did not consist of adventurers who wanted to enrich themselves. The Afrikaners were created by the family man who was prepared with the greatest treasure in his heart to find freedom for his new people.

"And along the way, he built himself up out of economic poverty, and he oppressed no one. In the peace which he created, and the development which his brain allowed him, he took with all the other peoples of the southern point of Africa so that in South Africa, the greatest order, the greatest civilization, and the greatest development in the entire Africa was to take place.

"This people have no reason to be ashamed of their past. They can indeed puff out their chests and pray 'Lord help me to be proud of what my ancestors did.'

"But a volk is built on seven pillars. These pillars are its ideology, its life and worldview. One pillar is your race, wherein you wish to maintain your racial purity. Herein you can establish pride and an unbreakable love and an honor for the race from which you come, wish to protect, and as a cornerstone will keep.

"Other pillars are the honesty of a people, its military preparedness, its spiritual durability, and the last pillar is its politics. This people over the years managed to establish five of its pillars albeit under difficult circumstances. It was bound to its Blood River, its belief in its spiritual power unbreakable. It succeeded in establishing political control. It succeeded in establishing military power in a faultless army and a police force. And an entirely new people was taken along in this striving.

"And then occurred the tragedy in the history of this people. The architect (Verwoerd) of the Republic, based on these pillars, was murdered and financial reserves were taken away from this people and were put in the hands of aliens. Our monetary system was coupled to those who

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are demanding a world state. We are daily being impoverished in the richest country in the world. And as it goes with any building, as soon as parts of the foundations are not yet built, the five existing pillars could not carry the weight of seven and the entire domestic building collapsed.

"And now the Afrikaner Volkswag has been established to take into possession and to keep that which is its own property, because there is no greater task for a generation than to ensure that it hands over to the next that which belongs to it.

"We do not have money and goods because we have been dispossessed of our powers, but we at least have the advantage that our labor and brains are there for the use.

"We must use the power that lies within us, because we are the workers, we are the academics, we are the mineworkers, we are the civil servants, we are the railway workers, we are the farmers, we are the army soldiers and the policemen, we are the marrow and the core, the spine of the volk, we must use this power such as the Lord has given to us, because it is order and it is law, and we must bring it all together in a new consolidated body so that we can once again join our forces and conquer the pillars.

"Undertake again, o people of Blood River, to fasten yourselves to your spiritual power, so that when the hour is there, then the Afrikaner Volkswag will bring Afrikanerdom together in their hundreds of thousands in the near future and we will pray for a third time to the God of Blood River!

"Go and talk, Afrikaner Volkswag, with those of your race who have given up faith. Go and talk with them so that they once again can go and dig out their consciences —their weapons —from under the conditioning of the past few years.

"In our blood flows still the blood of the German, the Christian, and the White man. Go and talk with them and fetch them so that we can gather in this great laager and once again bow and plead with our Creator for the preservation of our people and our eventual victory."

He ended his speech with a "long Live Afrikanerdom" and a right handed arm bent salute, which was captured by the numerous television teams present. Terre'Blanche also appeared on stage with a phalanx of six bodyguards from the "Blitsvalke" (Lightning Falcons)—the special AWB unit of the time—all neatly dressed in a uniform consisting of black pants, white shirts and ties, with AWB emblems prominent.

One of the men had a firearm clearly visible, although later another of the guards said that all the men had been armed.

The crowd, whipped up by the oratory, gave Terre'Blanche an ecstatic reception and a standing ovation. The next evening on South African television the salute and speech was shown no less than six times in one news broadcast, setting a new record for plain repetition.

The shock effect of these scenes had two results—firstly liberals and leftists were appalled, but many dormant right-wingers were suddenly activated by Terre'Blanche's first dynamic appearance on national television. The television scenes concentrated on the uniforms, the AWB emblems, which even then were not that widely known, and the one visible firearm.

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AWB "WitWag" (White Guard) members light a flame at the founding of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

A few days later it was announced that a complaint had been laid against the one guard with the visible gun. A police investigation was started, and referred to the senior public prosecutor in Pretoria, who a month later announced that no prosecution would take place.

Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, was moved to warn the AWB that “if it uses bodyguards, it must adhere to the law. If people such as members of the AWB want to make fools of themselves by parading around in uniforms they are quite welcome to do so. But if Mr. Terre’Blanche wants to travel around with bodyguards to so-called cultural meetings he must make sure he complies with the Arms and Ammunitions Act and many other laws.”

Le Grange repeated his warning that the AWB was continually watched but interestingly enough confirmed that the investigation which was undertaken by the police into the AWB in 1983 (at the request of P.W. Botha) was complete but that he was not going to release it. That unreleased report claimed that “a source” (that is, an informer) was told by Jan Groenewald that the AWB was setting up a training camp on a farm in the Northern Transvaal and estimated the membership of the AWB in 1983 to be twelve thousand.

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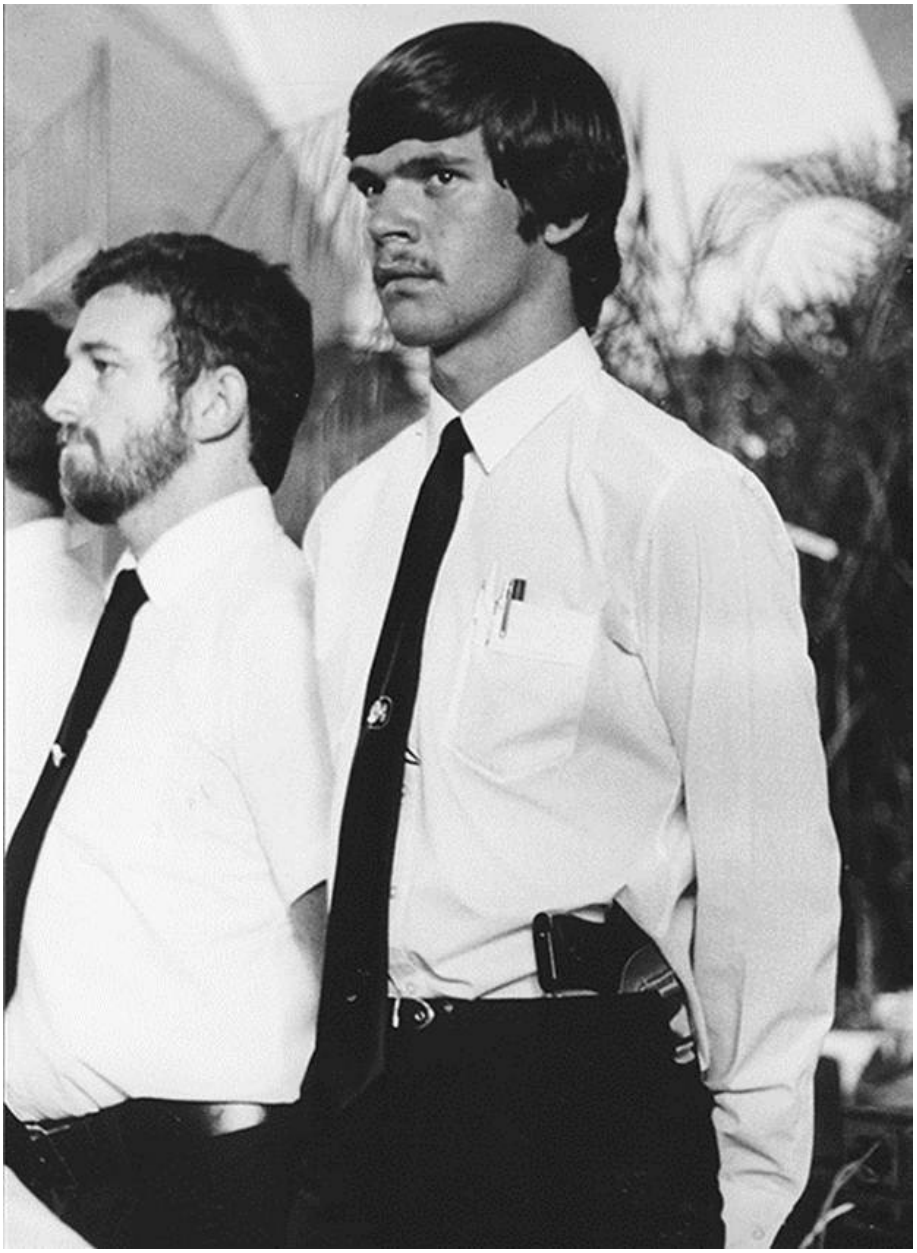

Members of the AWB's "Witwag" on show at the 1984 founding of the Afrikaner Volkswag.

Six days after the founding of the AV, just when the controversy over his salute was still making headlines, Terre'Blanche held a public meeting in Pretoria. The hall was packed to overflowing, with people standing and sitting in the aisles and outside. The television coverage, it seemed, did far more good than harm in the form of recruitment for the AWB.

A large local and foreign media contingent was present following Terre'Blanche's television appearance, and they were not disappointed by the bodyguards, who looked every bit the part of Nazi storm troopers.

Terre'Blanche entered the hall accompanied by more bodyguards dressed in the same way as the six had been at the AV meeting, and once he was on stage they marched to different positions around the hall to keep an eye on the crowd.

In his speech Terre'Blanche vigorously defended the guard with the gun at the Volkswag

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meeting. “This youngster always carries a firearm,” he said to laughter from the audience.

During AWB public meetings in 1986, Terre’Blanche repeatedly said that the then state president and leader of the National Party, P.W. Botha, was going to be presented with a request that the National Party’s reform program make provision for “a nation state (a ‘Volkstaat’) for the Afrikaner people with as a nucleus the original Boer Republics.”

Members of the AWB’s chief advisory body, its “Great Council,” had in the meantime prepared an all-encompassing document which laid out the reasons (as the AWB saw them) why the request for an independent state should be considered.

Terre’Blanche then sent this document, together with a cover letter asking for an interview with the state president, to Botha’s office on June 13, 1986. Copies of the letter and the document were later also released to the press.

An exchange of letters lasting several weeks then took place, with Botha telling Terre’Blanche that he was prepared to meet with the AWB “once the organization has convinced me that it rejects violence.”

Terre’Blanche said the conditions posed no problems for him. “The AWB has always forsworn violence, and I do not have difficulty with the demand to see me alone. Mr. Botha had made it clear that he stands for the sovereignty of the different peoples. Now I shall simply ask him what about my people? Are they too not entitled to their sovereignty?” he replied.

Terre’Blanche spelt out his reply in a letter to Botha on September 22, in which he said he agreed to all of the preconditions.

Both the AWB and the NP had meetings scheduled for October 16 in the Northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus. Despite requesting an interview “as soon as possible,” by the time of the Potgietersrus meetings, no answer had been forthcoming from Botha’s office. The NP meeting was addressed by Botha himself. He repeated his offer to see Terre’Blanche on the pre-condition that he forswore violence.

Terre’Blanche on the other hand, announced at his meeting the same evening that he no longer wanted to see Botha, saying that Botha had avoided the whole issue.

Botha’s reaction was not long in the coming. He wrote another letter to Terre’Blanche refusing an interview, and went on to make a number of personal insults against Terre’Blanche, amongst others that Terre’Blanche suffered from “a lack of statesmanship . . . (that he) lacked judgment ability. . . (that he had) a crippled sense of justice and reasonableness . . . (that he had) a lack of logical thought processes . . . (that he had) a lack of knowledge of history and interpretation thereof . . . (and finally that Terre’Blanche was) completely out of touch with the natural pure aspirations of the Boer people’s ideals.”

The exchange of letters received wide publicity in the press, and the AWB even made them available in pamphlet form, of which many thousands were distributed.

The intense symbolism of the site of Paardekraal in Krugersdorp, to the west of Johannesburg, in Afrikaner history lies in the fact that it was on that site that a tiny handful of Boers decided in 1880 to take up arms against the British Empire, sparking off the first Anglo-Boer War.

A small handful of Boers gathered on that spot and took an oath to fight for their independence from Great Britain. Thereupon followed the first Anglo-Boer war of 1880–1881, which secured the Republic’s independence once again (at least until the second war with the British in 1899).

Afrikaner nationalism has always held the Paardekraal site in much reverence, and a monument was erected there in later years to mark the uprising against the British.

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The AWB decided to use the terrain to mark a renewed commitment to the “struggle” together with a new undertaking to the Christian God, much like the one taken just before the battle of Blood River during trekker days. A right-wing gathering was planned for November 29, 1986, at the Paardekraal site, and a special covenant was drawn up, known as the “Two Part Covenant.”

Terre’Blanche and a commando of eleven other men rode on horseback from Pretoria to the site carrying banners advertising the meeting. The day itself was marked by a thunderous shower, and the organizers feared that the heavy rain would keep people away. However, more than seven thousand turned out for the highly emotional event, which saw Terre’Blanche and the commando of horsemen ride in after a three day journey.

People dressed up as historical characters from Afrikaner history played out well-known historical scenes for the crowd who dutifully stood in the rain for several hours. The covenant, which was read out in the form of a prayer, contained an undertaking “to remain true to one another until death in the struggle for the restoration of our freedom in a Christian Republican Boer Volkstaat” and “to make the necessary sacrifices for the attainment of this ideal.” Dressed in a felt hat, leather jacket, khaki clothes and riding boots, Terre’Blanche told the crowd at Paardekraal that the vow they had just undertaken would be marked as the day in history when the “nation” had decided that it would not allow itself to be sold cheaply.

In his usual dramatic style he informed the crowd that they had been chosen to “fight the Armageddon” and that they themselves must decide if they were man enough for the task.

It was stirring stuff, to say the least, but the next time Paardekraal would be in the news it would be about far more earthier concerns.

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CHAPTER FOUR: THE ARMS TRIAL

All through 1982 Terre'Blanche had been warning at his public meetings and in interviews in the press that the "volk" was not going to peacefully accept any changes to the constitution of South Africa which entailed power sharing—no matter how limited—between Whites and any other racial group.

"Anybody who thinks he can get away with allowing Coloureds and Indians to decide on the destiny of the Whites will have to face us—physically," he said on more than one occasion. During this time he also specified that he and his movement would use violence should any changes to the constitution be made. Only a few took him at his word.

Then came the announcement on December 11, 1982, that Terre'Blanche and eight other AWB men had been arrested by the South African security police and were being held in terms of the Internal Security Act. A police press statement said arms, ammunition, and explosives had been seized and that investigations were continuing.

Police said that on Monday, December 6, after receiving a tipoff, the security police had arrested one White man, Danie Viljoen, at the AWB offices in Pretoria. Viljoen, a former policeman, was at the time of his arrest a full-time employee of the AWB. "Further investigations led to the arrest of the other eight men," said the police press statement.

The men were all detained under section 29\1 of the Act, which was usually used for ANC operatives and which provided for indefinite detention without trial. The following day the names of two more of the arrested men were released—one was Terre'Blanche's brother, Andries, and another was Anton Du Plessis, son of a Delmas millionaire maize farmer Joos Du Plessis, a longtime AWB stalwart and big contributor to AWB funds.

Security police worked day and night since the initial tip-off to find all the weapons. Some of them had been ingeniously hidden in maize fields and rivers in waterproof containers and in many cases the police had to use metal detectors in dramatic night searches to find the weapons. Several automatic weapons were found when the police literally ploughed up several maize fields.

After the initial arrests, events proceeded apace. AWB secretary Jan Groenewald issued a tongue-in-cheek statement saying the movement could not be held responsible for unauthorized and illegal actions of individual members and that if any of the detainees overstepped the law, then the AWB disassociated itself from their actions. The statement also denied that Terre'Blanche or anyone else in the top structure of the AWB had given orders to prepare for violent action.

The Executive Council of the AWB held an emergency meeting at the AWB head office in Pretoria to discuss the events and to elect an interim leader while Terre'Blanche was in detention. Before the meeting began, Jan Groenewald himself was arrested in dramatic fashion in the street outside the AWB offices in Church Street, Pretoria, bringing the total number of detained persons to ten. The emergency AWB meeting went ahead and elected former Ossewabrandwag "stormjaer" (storm chaser, or the equivalent of a storm trooper) leader Barnie Basson as interim leader. Exactly a week after the arrests were made public, four of the ten men were released without any conditions. They were Terre'Blanche's brother and three other AWB members: Johan Herbst, Antonie du Plessis and Martin van Jaarsveld.

Andries Terre'Blanche caused a minor uproar by announcing that he had received "hotel treatment" from the police while he was in detention. "The police are all Christians," he said. "It was nice and I never had the impression that I was a prisoner. I was treated as if I was in a hotel

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during my detention."

Yet another one of the detainees, Springs town councilor and full-time secretary to Terre'Blanche, David Botes, was arrested while on holiday in Hentjies Bay in South West Africa. Botes had been detained by an old friend of his in the police, Colonel Jack Cronje, who had treated him most leniently—something that was to later cause problems in court.

The irony of the arrests was that they came just after Terre'Blanche had made a special tape-recorded message for the police. The message, which included a recital of a popular Afrikaans poem by G.A. Watermeyer, contained praises for the work the police were doing and included a plea for a better deal for the police.

The arrests disrupted the AWB's traditional Day of the Vow celebrations in 1982, with the result that no official functions were held that year.

One of the men who escaped the security police sweep was a Dutch citizen, one Cornelius "Kees" Moes. Moes, who was later to be shown up in court as integral to the origin of the weapons involved in the case, was also accused by the AWB of being a security police agent and of having set up the entire incident. Moes, somehow tipped off that the arrests were coming, left the country a few days before the first arrest and has never returned to South Africa.

Three months prior to the AWB arrests, Moes had been found guilty in the Pretoria Regional Court of being in the illegal possession of a number of dangerous firearms, including a stolen military missile, an unlicensed Soviet SKS semi-automatic rifle, a special pen (which in James Bond style had been adapted to fire .22 bullets), a stolen rifle, camouflage uniforms (which were then illegal for private possession in South Africa), and a two-way radio set.

Moes, who had entered South Africa only some seven years previously, was also convicted of stealing two rifle magazines, a bayonet, and rifle parts. Found guilty on all the charges, he was given a fine of R1, 000 or 500 days in jail, plus a nine month prison sentence suspended for five years.

Moes junior had started an estate agency in South Africa, Moes Estates, and had made a lot of money on commissions by selling property in the Eldoraigne and Halfway House areas between Johannesburg and Pretoria. It was here that he met people in the AWB who introduced him to Terre'Blanche. Before long Moes had been elected onto the AWB's executive body, and he took an active part in the running of the AWB. Moes was the origin of a large number of the automatic weapons which later featured in the case, and although he himself never appeared in court (as he was long since in Europe) the judge named him as one of the chief culprits. He was summonsed to appear in court in July 1983, but by then his wife and children had sold all their possessions in South Africa and had fled back to Holland.

The six men who remained in custody appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court on Friday, December 24, charged with contravening the Arms and Ammunition Act—the illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed to January 21, with all six being granted bail of R1, 000 each. Only then were the names of the six men officially released. They were Terre'Blanche, Jan Groenewald, Danie Viljoen, David Botes, AWB founder member Corrie Jooste and Hendrik Jacobsz, a personal friend of Viljoen.

The court was packed with friends and family, and Terre'Blanche and his colleagues all wore Four Color Flag or AWB badges. Ten security policemen took up position alongside the walls of the public gallery, in order to study who was attending the trial. The accused all appeared to be in a relaxed mood, and showed no signs of having been any the worse after more than two weeks in detention. They were warmly greeted by a crowd who had gathered outside

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the court building.

After appearing in court again on January 21, 1983, the accused were informed that the case was once more postponed to Wednesday, February 23. On that day a surprise step was taken by the state—the trials were separated into the differing jurisdictions where the differing arms caches had been found. All in all, four separate trials were held.

Jacobsz and Viljoen were both charged under the Arms and Ammunitions Act as well as under the Explosives Act for the illegal possession of explosive material. On May 27, 1983 the charges against the two men were changed to those of terrorism—an offence which did carry the death penalty in South Africa—and were referred to the Pretoria Supreme Court for trial on June 1 of that year. Both men resigned from the AWB when they were informed of the charges against them, saying that they did not want to embarrass the organization any further.

Terre'Blanche, Botes, Viljoen, and Groenewald were all charged with the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and warned to appear again in the Pretoria Regional Court on March 9, 1983.

Terre'Blanche and Viljoen were further warned to appear in the Klerksdorp Regional Court on March 11, 1983, on another charge of illegal possession of arms and ammunition in the Ventersdorp area, while Jooste was warned to appear in the Rustenburg court on March 24, 1983, charged with the illegal possession of explosives. Bail for all the men was extended.

Terre'Blanche, Viljoen, Groenewald, and Botes all pleaded not guilty to the five charges against them on March 24. The first charge was that between September 1981 and December 1981, in the areas of Pretoria, Cullinan, Delmas, and Ventersdorp, the four men were in possession of automatic weapons and parts thereof. The weapons in question were four AK 47 assault rifles, 17 R1 (called an FN in Europe) magazines, five G3 magazines, 16 AK 47 magazines, one AK 47 bolt, one AK 47 tension spring, one AK 47 gas chamber (used to supply pressure in the weapon), 12 AK 47 load plates and one AK 47 rifle butt.

The second charge was that on the same dates and in the same areas the accused were in possession of a Russian Makarov pistol, and the third charge was possession of ammunition for the pistol. The fourth charge was for possession of explosives, namely tetriel explosive and one smoke grenade. An alternative charge on this count was the storage of explosives. The final charge was for possession of three tear gas canisters.

Terre'Blanche's Pretoria trial was postponed twice more, once because Viljoen was too ill to attend court, with the result that the final trial date was set for July 11. The terrorism trial of Viljoen and Jacobsz thus became the first case to be heard. Both men pleaded not guilty to both the terrorism charge and the alternative charges of possession of unlicensed firearms, ammunition, and explosives.

The first piece of evidence led by the state was a written admission by Jacobsz wherein it was stated that he planned to blow up the road (with some 40 kilograms of explosives) leading to a Las Vegas type gambling resort called Sun City, a few hundred kilometers outside Pretoria in one of the Apartheid-era independent Black homelands.

In his statement Jacobsz said he had obtained the explosives from the mine where he had been working. The state further alleged that Viljoen and Jacobsz conspired with a third man, one Abraham Roetz, (who became a state witness) to endanger the law and order of the South African government and to instigate acts of violence. The state alleged that the two men had detonator fuses, an AK 47 assault rifle, and ammunition in their possession. The AK 47 was on display in the courtroom as evidence, together with a Mauser rifle and a sawn off shotgun.

Roetz, who was first warned that he could also be charged as a result of his evidence,

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testified that Viljoen had told him that cells had to be formed countrywide so that police stations could be taken over by the AWB with the aid of “senior people” in the army.

He said Viljoen had asked him to get dynamite from the Impala Platinum mine where he and Jacobsz worked and that he had done so. The explosives had been hidden, and Roetz told the court how he and the two accused men, who were armed, later went to collect the explosives.

One of the lighter aspects of the state’s case against the two men was an allegation that they also planned to get syphilis germs from a laboratory and infect Sun City with them. This point was initially taken seriously and only later acknowledged as a joke.

According to further state evidence, the two accused also discussed with Roetz the possibility of assassinating the then prime minister P.W. Botha, with the men telling Roetz that “it was no problem to get rid of P.W. Botha, but that they had to wait, as P.W. is still a hero.”

The indictment also alleged that on November 13, 1983, Jacobsz had placed nails on the road to Sun City (causing many motorists on their way to the resort to have flat tires).

Martin Van Jaarsveld, one of the original nine men arrested (and one of those subsequently released), testified that in November of 1982 Viljoen had asked him to go to Rustenburg to fetch dynamite and to have a silencer fitted to a rifle. Van Jaarsveld said he had met Jacobsz in Rustenburg, who had thereupon taken him to the place where the explosives were hidden. Van Jaarsveld said Jacobsz had then taken him to a spot in the bush where two potato bags and several plastic bags full of dynamite sticks were hidden.

Evidence led by a Colonel Haasbroek from the security police the next day was that the two accused planned to blow up the new multiracial Holiday Inn hotel in Church Street, Pretoria, the hall in Cape Town where the multiracial president’s council sat, and the casino at Sun City. Haasbroek said the men had told him of their plans after their arrest the previous December. According to the colonel, the two had also intended to eliminate Bishop Desmond Tutu and Reverend Alan Boesak, two prominent Black theologians and anti-apartheid activists.

Haasbroek told the court he had asked the two men if they also had plans to eliminate P.W. Botha. “Mr. Viljoen just smiled and refused to answer the question,” he said.

Viljoen had told Haasbroek that he had received the explosives and weapons “from various people” and that a national serviceman (a civilian doing his compulsory military service) had given him the AK 47.

Viljoen also told the colonel that the AWB as a whole had not planned the sabotage, and that it was only a few of the individual members who had made the plans. Haasbroek revealed that the men had managed to accumulate approximately seventy-five kilograms of explosives all in all. Other policemen testified that they had seized a homemade .22 rifle with a silencer, a sawn off shotgun in Jacobsz’s bedroom, and an illegal book on the production of homemade arms and explosives in Viljoen’s bedroom and car.

During his testimony Viljoen said that he had obtained an AK-47 rifle and ammunition from Andries Terre’Blanche. This point was for unknown reasons never followed up.

Viljoen told the court he had been a policeman for seven years, and the camouflage uniforms which formed part of the charge in Eugene Terre’Blanche’s trial had been given to him while he was in the police doing border duty.

Andries Terre’Blanche had also given him a .22 revolver to repair while another of the original detainees, Johan Herbst, had given him a .22 rifle with a sawn off barrel. Viljoen testified that Roetz had offered to get them dynamite from the mine where he worked but that he (Viljoen) had been “shocked” by the suggestion.

He had then forgotten about the explosives and had been dumbfounded when Jacobsz had

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phoned to ask him if he could fetch explosives from Rustenburg. “I suddenly realized that the whole matter was serious and I thought that they might get caught and get the whole AWB into trouble. I could not believe my eyes when I saw the vast quantity of explosives Roetz and Jacobsz had managed to smuggle out of the mine.”

When Jacobsz phoned him a second time to fetch explosives, Viljoen said he realized that he had been negligent in not telling the two men to stop smuggling dynamite. Viljoen also testified that he had heard at an AWB meeting in the Southern Transvaal town of Vereeniging that the security police were on his tail. He was frightened and shocked and decided to hide the explosives and firearms at a friend’s house in Klerksdorp. The friends Viljoen referred to were an AWB supporting couple in that town, the Streichers.

Mrs. S. Streicher testified in court that she had known Viljoen for seventeen years, and that he had given her husband AWB tapes and shirts. Viljoen had asked her if he could store certain parcels at her house in Klerksdorp. She agreed to this, but said she never knew what was inside the parcels.

Viljoen also testified that he had told the police lies in order to prevent other people from becoming involved.

Jacobsz then took the stand. He said he had collected the explosives in order to “defend himself” as he expected the government to collapse soon. “We are going to go the same way as the Congo, and the Republic (of South Africa) will be the last Christian stronghold to fall.”

Explaining how he had stolen dynamite from his workplace, Jacobsz told a surprised court that he believed he did right by stealing the explosives as the “Bible says we are allowed to steal from heathens.”

The state prosecutor, Mr. A. Englebrecht, asked the court to reject all the evidence given by both Viljoen and Jacobsz as unreliable, calling Viljoen a blatant liar who even lied to the police.

Judgment and sentence was heard on June 15. Both men were found guilty on the main charge of terrorism in terms of the Internal Security Act, and were each sentenced to fifteen years’ imprisonment.

“We will have to prove to you and others who think like you that your actions will not be tolerated,” Justice Van Reenen told the men, nonetheless stressing that it was not the AWB that was on trial but only two individuals.

Van Reenen said it was true that the only act of violence the men had committed was to throw nails on the road to Sun City, “but that was only because the police had acted quickly. The accused are White men with voting powers but they had preferred instead to make use of acts of political violence to achieve political change in the country. Such actions will not be tolerated by any civilized country.”

Roetz, one of the main state witnesses, was granted indemnity from prosecution by Van Reenen, who also refused leave to appeal against the sentence by the two men’s defense team. A later petition to the appeal court also failed. Viljoen and Jacobsz served prison sentences until 1987, when they were released along with a number of political prisoners, including veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Attention then shifted to the second of the series of trials, that of Viljoen and Terre’Blanche in Klerksdorp on June 16. Heavily armed police took up position all around the courtroom, and parking bays around the court were cordoned off. Everyone entering the courtroom building was subjected to a thorough physical search before being allowed to proceed.

The two men were charged with the illegal possession of an AK 47 rifle, a .22 Gecado

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revolver and 362 rounds of ammunition. They pleaded not guilty to the charges.

First witness Andries Terre'Blanche told a packed courtroom that his brother had asked him to hide an AK 47 saying that "the leftists had planted the rifle" on him (Eugene). He testified that Eugene had asked him to keep the arms until Viljoen came to fetch them, which he did some three months later.

Asked if he recognized the .22 revolver on display as evidence in court, Andries said he did and added that it "was just a toy" belonging to his family. "My mother sometimes used it to frighten people of other colors when they get a little difficult," he said to laughter from the public gallery.

Pieter Streicher from Klerksdorp told the court that his friend Viljoen had asked him and his wife to keep parcels for them at their home in Klerksdorp. These parcels turned out to be the ones Viljoen removed from Andries Terre'Blanche's farm. Streicher said he had been very upset to find that the parcels contained an AK 47, a .22 Mauser rifle with a sawn off barrel, a .22 revolver with a silencer, ammunition, and camouflage uniforms.

Realizing that the police were watching his house, Streicher decided to dump the items in a local dam, where they were later recovered by the police.

One of the original detainees, Johan Herbst, then testified, saying that Viljoen had arrived one day to stay overnight at his house in Potgietersrus. During the evening's discussion Viljoen had persuaded Herbst to give him the .22 Mauser. Herbst also said Viljoen had offered to sell him an AK 47 for R700.

Eugene Terre'Blanche then took the stand the following day. He told the court that he had found the AK 47 (which was exhibit number one in the court) in his car after working late one night in March of 1982 at the AWB's Pretoria offices. When he had arrived home in Ventersdorp, he opened the boot of his car to take out his briefcase. "I could not get the case out properly; it seemed to be obstructed by something," he told the court.

"I looked inside the boot and was shocked and staggered to see an AK 47 rifle wrapped in newspaper. A note was stuck on it. It was written on a very large piece of paper, but the message was short: 'Now is the hour.' At first I did not know what it meant, but then I recognized it as part of a speech I had once made."

He said he took the gun to his brother's home, and did not go to the police, even though the nearest station was only one kilometer away, as he was afraid of being arrested with it in his possession. "I did not go to the police because I thought the people who had planted these things on me wanted me to be confronted by police. I am the leader of a political movement which the press has maliciously described as a violent movement. It was all a plot to ruin me. I did not want to commit a crime because I did not want the stuff. I did not want to step into a well-planned plot. The planting of a Russian weapon in my car was a political matter and it was a well-planned attack on me."

He said he had telephoned Viljoen from his brother's house and had told him to come and destroy the weapons. Prosecutor Paul Fick then told the court that Terre'Blanche was misleading the court to protect the AWB and his position as leader. Fick said claims by the men that arms and ammunition had been planted were intended to mislead the court and that the real intention of the men in keeping the arms was to distribute them to members of the AWB.

Terre'Blanche's explanations did not convince the court, and both he and Viljoen (who by this stage was already serving the fifteen years' sentence from the first trial), were found guilty of the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition.

Magistrate E.D. Wythe sentenced Terre'Blanche to one year's imprisonment for the

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illegal possession of the AK 47 rifle and six months for the illegal possession of 362 rounds of ammunition. Both sentences were suspended conditionally for five years.

Terre'Blanche was also fined R300 (or three months' imprisonment) for the illegal possession of the .22 Gecado revolver.

Viljoen was jailed for eighteen months for the possession of the AK 47 rifle, and for nine months for the possession of the ammunition. Wythe ordered that Viljoen's sentence be served concurrently with the fifteen year sentence he was already serving.

Wythe found that the court had serious misgivings concerning the allegation by Terre'Blanche that the AK 47 had been planted, but seeing as the state had led no evidence to disprove it, the story "could possibly be reasonably true." He also indemnified Andries Terre'Blanche from prosecution.

After sentence had been passed in the hushed courtroom, the one hundred AWB supporters who had packed the gallery rose and applauded. When Terre'Blanche left the courtroom the assembled crowd outside began singing psalm 146 "Praise the Lord."

The second trial over, attention shifted back to Pretoria for the third trial, which involved Terre'Blanche, Groenewald, Botes, and Viljoen (who was appearing for the third time).

The four were originally accused of being illegally in possession of arms, ammunition, and explosives found on farms near Pretoria, Cullinan, Delmas, and Ventersdorp between September 1981 and December 1982, but the state sprung its last surprise on the men by changing the main charge to one of Terrorism (on the day before the court appearance), keeping the possession of arms and ammunition charge as an alternative charge. The four men appeared on July 11, 1983, with Viljoen locked securely in leg irons. According to the indictment, the men planned to overthrow the government by means of violence and thereby bring about political and social change in the country.

The state alleged that the men had been in possession of four AK 47 rifles, nineteen AK 47 magazines, a Makarov pistol, 4,143 rounds of ammunition, an Oerlikan missile, camouflage uniforms, and parts for the firearms.

State witness Daniel Erasmus (AWB member and also a game ranger on a game farm) testified that the Hollander Moes had asked him to hide two trunks on his farm near Cullinan. Botes and Groenewald had three weeks later come back with Moes's son to fetch the trunks. Erasmus said he had not been aware of the contents of the trunks.

Original detainee Antonie Du Plessis, who was warned that he could be charged before testifying, then took the stand. He said Botes had telephoned him with a request to fetch a copying machine in Pretoria.

He then went to Pretoria, met Groenewald and Botes, and accompanied them to Pretoria North. He had to wait on a dirt road for about two hours while Botes and Groenewald went off and returned with two trunks, which they requested he take to his farm in Delmas. Botes had later joined him at the farm.

They then opened the trunks and found camouflage uniforms, ammunition, and parts of an AK 47. Du Plessis claimed that he then asked Botes to remove the "rubbish" from his farm. Botes then told him he would do it later.

However, the trunks were only finally removed after Terre'Blanche had angrily ordered Botes to do so during a heated argument in the Du Plessis's house. Du Plessis said Botes had later told him the contents of the trunks had been destroyed and thrown in a river.

This was however not the truth, as Botes had in fact transported the arms to Andries Terre'Blanche's farm in Ventersdorp, where they were buried in a maize field.

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Major F.P. Nel from the security police testified that he had dug up the trunks on Andries Terre'Blanche's farm after the initial arrests. The trunks had been covered in grease to prevent them from rusting.

Andries Terre'Blanche was then called as a witness. He told the court that his brother Eugene and Viljoen had met him on his farm and had told him that they had "dangerous stuff" which belonged to

Moes and which had to be destroyed. He had not asked what the dangerous stuff was, but Viljoen and he had taken the two trunks to a maize field where they had left them in the long grass.

He said his brother and Viljoen had come back to his farm the following day and the three men had buried the trunks in a mealie field. During this process he and Viljoen had opened the trunks in order to see what the contents were.

"Viljoen told me we should smear the contents with grease in order to prevent it from rusting because it belonged to Kees Moes and maybe even the state," he said. According to him the grease had also been a way of preventing their fingerprints showing on the arms and ammunition they touched. After a few months, he had realized that Moes was not going to fetch his trunks and so he decided to dig them up. He could not however find the spot where they had been buried—something which caused the judge (Justice Henk van Dyk) to remark that it was very strange that a farmer could not find something he had buried on his own farm only a few months before.

Andries' evidence was followed by an application from the state prosecutor, Sieg Engelbrecht, that Andries be declared a hostile witness. The evidence Andries Terre'Blanche had given in court, said Engelbrecht, differed considerably with that which he had given in a statement made to the security police the previous December. In that statement Andries had said his brother had brought the two trunks containing arms and ammunition to his farm and that his brother had said to him: "A friend Kees Moes is in trouble and cannot handle his own affairs at the moment. This stuff must be kept for him until he has sorted his problems out."

The statement further said that Andries had no idea what his brother and Viljoen's motives were in connection with the arms and ammunition, while the previous day in court he had said his brother and Viljoen had said the trunks contained dangerous material and should be destroyed immediately. Engelbrecht submitted to the court that Andries Terre'Blanche should be declared a hostile witness because in evidence it had been clear that he did not want to involve his brother in any way.

Justice Van Dyk agreed with Engelbrecht, and said it was clear that Andries had watered down his evidence and had tried to adapt it to protect his brother. He then declared Andries a hostile witness, which allowed the state to cross question him on his testimony.

Terre'Blanche took the stand and told the court that as far as he was concerned the AWB had walked into a planned trap. He testified that he had fired Botes as his personal secretary when he had learned of the existence of the arms, adding that he had only later found out that the trunks and their contents actually belonged to Moes.

AWB secretary (and fellow accused) Groenewald had then told him that the trunks belonged to Moes and "maybe even to the state." This accusation that the trunks were actually the state's property was again made by Groenewald when he took the stand. Groenewald said Moes had telephoned him from the Netherlands and had asked him to take possession of the two trunks. According to Groenewald, Moes was a member of the executive council of the AWB "but it was common knowledge that he worked for the security police."

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Groenewald told the court that Moes had informed him during the same telephone conversation that the contents of the trunks belonged to the security police.

In a dramatic development on the day of the defense summary, Botes was acquitted on the main charge of terrorism and of the alternate charges after the state had conceded that nothing had been proved against him. Realizing that the terrorism charge was going to be difficult to prove against the remaining three men, State Prosecutor Engelbrecht told the court that the state was not going to push for a conviction under the terrorism charges, but rather under the alternative charges of illegal possession of weapons.

Judgment and sentence were delivered on November 4, 1983. The three men were all acquitted on the main charge of terrorism, but were found guilty of the illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Terre'Blanche was sentenced to two years' imprisonment suspended for five years; Groenewald was sentenced to three years, suspended for five years; and Viljoen was sentenced to four years, suspended for five years.

During his judgment Van Dyk remarked that "the community does not expect that such civilized proper people as the accused be sent for a term in prison." Van Dyk found that the two trunks containing all the arms and ammunition had belonged to Moes, "but the court cannot find that it was the property of the security police as has been suggested by the four accused."

An obviously relieved Terre'Blanche and his fellow accused left the court carried on the shoulders of a by now customary crowd of supporters, all waving little Four Color flags.

While the third trial had been in progress, the fourth trial, of Corrie Jooste in Rustenburg had taken place, attracting surprisingly little attention. Jooste was found guilty in the Rustenburg Regional Court of being in the illegal possession of 192 dynamite sticks, which had been hidden in three oil drums in the Crocodile River in the Northern Transvaal, and sentenced to a fine of R800 or four months' imprisonment, suspended for five years.

He was acquitted on the main charge of possessing dynamite with the intention of causing harm or damaging property, being found guilty only of the illegal possession thereof.

The official AWB version that the arms were planted on the organization does not ring true when compared to the facts of the situation. Firstly, no less than three witnesses in Terre'Blanche's Pretoria trial were officially declared to have committed perjury in court. If it was all just an innocent frame up, why the need for some of the obvious untruths?

Also, if the weapons had just been "found," then there was absolutely no reason to fear taking them to the police and saying where they were found.

Secondly, the time span involved does not make sense. The weapons (Moes's included) were in the possession of the AWB men in September 1981. The men were arrested in December 1982, meaning that they were aware of the weapons and the hiding places for over a year. It is the first principle of any frame up that those setting the victim up will strike as soon as it is confirmed that the incriminating items are in the possession of the victim.

Why wait more than a year before striking? Who could say what the men might have done with the weapons in the interim? Apart from throwing them away, and therefore there being no case anyway, they might have used them to considerable effect.

Thirdly, the dynamite and other explosives gathered by some of the men have no relation to Moes whatsoever. Viljoen in fact had no direct link to Moes, yet he was the first to be arrested. Explosives had been stolen from a mine and hidden in watertight barrels in river banks. This was surely not the work of someone being framed.

Lastly, Moes himself had been convicted of being in possession of illegal arms even

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before the AWB men had been arrested. If he had really worked for the Security Branch, as alleged, then he would never have ended up in court and been convicted for those weapons.

The official AWB version of the events also contradicts the evidence in court. According to the official version the AWB leadership did not know that Moes was working for the police, but in court they maintained that they knew all along.

The question which still however remains unanswered is how the police found out about the dynamite in the first place, as this is clearly where they picked up the lead, bearing in mind that Viljoen was the first to be arrested.

The old South African security police were rated amongst the most efficient in the world, and they had informants in virtually every political organization inside South Africa, from the AWB to the ANC, all of whom provided top class intelligence material regarding their subjects.

In the AWB arms case, it is clear that one of Viljoen's contacts must have been an informer, who then provided the initial tip off about the explosives. Because Viljoen was partly involved in the other weapons dealing as well, the police opened the whole can of worms from that end.

Who was the informer? Because the security police worked on the basis that only the informant's handler and a few other people actually knew the identity of the informant, it is unlikely that the person will ever be named.

What can be said, however, is that it is clear that at this early stage already, AWB members were serious in their desire to resist change in South Africa by force.

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CHAPTER FIVE: A NEW MILITANCY

The member of Parliament for the constituency of Brits (situated just to the west of Pretoria), was in 1986 a National Party representative by the name of Jan Grobler. He announced on April 24, 1986, that a public meeting would be held in Brits and the guest speaker would be Deputy Minister Louis Nel, who was famous for his series of biting attacks on the AWB.

The announcement that Nel was to speak in Brits was seen by the AWB for what it was: a challenge for a test of strength. Immediately they began organizing under the leadership of local AWB stalwart and former Springbok wrestler Manie Maritz, descendant of the Boer War general of the same name.

The evening of the meeting a large crowd of some fourteen hundred people gathered at the hall, with at least eleven hundred of them being AWBs.

AWB National Organizer Dries Alberts and Manie Maritz—both no strangers to NP meetings—led the protest. When the divisional chairman of the NP, Mauritz Kloppers, tried to address the crowd, Alberts sprang up and shouted that on a point of order the chairman had not been elected in a democratic manner and that the majority of the audience would back him up in insisting that Manie Maritz take the chair.

Not too surprisingly, this request was turned down, but for a solid hour with the aid of a loud-hailer (bullhorn), Alberts managed to keep up the demand that Maritz take the chair, thereby disrupting proceedings completely.

It soon became apparent even to the organizers that a good section of the crowd was overtly hostile to the NP. An unbroken full hour of chanting, stamping of feet, and singing so drowned out the NP organizers that none of them could even make themselves heard over the din. Several attempts by Nel to address the meeting proved fruitless, and he looked alternately amused and angry as the crowd sang “goodbye Louis, we want Manie” repetitively.

Calling a hasty press conference on the stage, Nel had to shout to be heard by the crowd of reporters gathered round him. “This is the ugly face of the Afrikaner –White radicalism at its worst,” he told the reporters.

AWB members allege that Deputy Minister Nel got so angry that he flashed rude signs at the crowd. Nel has always denied this, maintaining to this day that he was merely balling his fist at the crowd, but there is in existence an incriminating photograph which clearly shows him making what appears to be a rude sign with his fist. Whatever the truth of the matter, Nel’s confrontationist stance only served to spur the hecklers on, and around 9 p.m. Nel and the NPs gave up, letting the crowd take over: electing their own chairman and holding their own meeting. They proceeded to pass motions of no confidence in the NP, the state president, and Grobler, who had by this stage left the scene along with Nel and a handful of supporters.

Grobler later accused the police of not heeding calls for intervention. The “Battle of Brits” as the meeting became known, signaled the end of the NP in Brits, and in the following election a CP man displaced Grobler as MP for the area.

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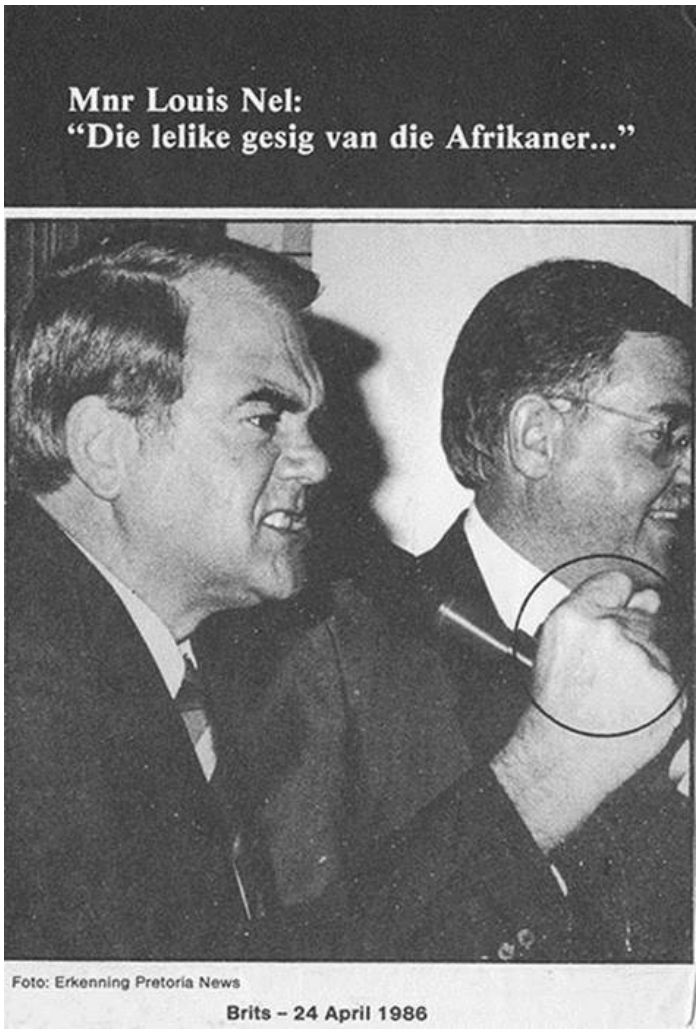

*National Party minister Louis Nel, captured on film, angry at having his meeting in Brits broken up by the AWB. From a pamphlet issued by the AWB, titled " "Mr Louis Nel: The ugly face of the Afrikaner..." a reference to the exclusively South African hand gesture shown in the picture, which is a crude way of telling people to "f*** off."*

Two days later, on April 26, 1986, a similar occurrence happened to another cabinet member—Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee announced that he was holding a "mass meeting" in Nylstroom, the main town in CP leader Andries Treurnicht's home constituency.

The meeting, planned to take place in a stadium in the town, got underway at the scheduled time but it also soon became clear that the vast majority of the "masses" at the meeting were not NP but AWB.

The crowd again demanded to be allowed to elect its own chairman, and the request was again refused. Coetsee and a few NP supporters then left the stadium and held a meeting in the kitchen underneath the pavilion, while a huge crowd in the stadium itself listened to Terre'Blanche.

These, the first two such events, provoked much reaction, especially from the Coloured and Indian houses of parliament, where calls were made for the banning of the AWB and the imprisonment of Terre'Blanche.

State President P.W. Botha said in reply to the calls during his budget vote that

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Terre'Blanche would be subject to the law if he broke it. Obviously thinking back to the days when he himself was a young NP organizer in the Cape, and had specialized in breaking up United Party meetings, Botha said "just because they get rowdy at a public meeting of the Deputy Minister of Information it is not a reason to beat him (Terre'Blanche) up. Leave him to the Nationalists. Keep out of this fight—the Nationalists will take care of it."

It was a brave promise, but an empty one. Botha himself had to rely on police and army protection from the AWB, as the Nationalists by themselves could not offer sufficient resistance.

P.W. Botha received his first taste of AWB heckling when a large section of the crowd at his meeting in Vereeniging on the evening of April 24, 1986, turned out to be AWB supporters. Although they kept up a constant barrage of remarks and shouts during his meeting, they were not in sufficient numbers to disrupt it completely. The following day the AWB officially announced that no NP cabinet minister would speak in the Transvaal again.

After the events in Brits, Vereeniging, and Nylstroom, The NP decided that a show of force was needed in the conservative Northern Transvaal.

A public meeting was arranged and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, was chosen to be the speaker on the grounds that he was by far the most popular NP public figure, and able to draw large crowds to public meetings. Botha duly announced that he would be holding a meeting in the Northern Transvaal town of Pietersburg, and added that it would be wise of the AWB to stay away from that meeting.

Terre'Blanche, however, addressed an AWB rally in Potgietersrus the week before Botha's Pietersburg meeting where he made the dramatic announcement that he, and not Botha, would speak from the stage in Pietersburg the next week.

NP organizers responded by announcing an unheard of step—that right of admission was reserved at the public meeting, legally giving the NP the right to evict any non-NP supporters. A second unusual step was to announce beforehand who the chairman was going to be, so as to prevent the crowd electing its own chairman as had happened at Brits. National Party organizers admitted that their strategy in dealing with the AWB up until then had been incorrect. They knew full well that the AWB was going to disrupt Louis Nel's Brits meeting, and informed the press and television well beforehand.

They had hoped that the sight of the meeting being broken up and the AWB flag being waved around would frighten conservative Afrikaners away from the right. Instead, the opposite happened, and the AWB could barely cope with the flood of new applications just after the Brits incident. This time, said NP organizers, they were determined to stop the AWB's strong-arm tactics.

The AWB announced that it had plans to hold a meeting at the same time as Botha's meeting in the town, and to precede its meeting with a march through the town center. On the evening of May 22, 1986, the town and venue, the Jack Botes Hall, was buzzing with anticipation.

Reams of media coverage had predicted "the bloodiest political brawl of the decade" and locals and others instinctively knew that these reports were not an exaggeration.

The NP drew up a formidable force of boxers, wrestlers, and karate experts (some of whom were members of the official national team) who were flown up by an army Hercules transport aircraft from the Johannesburg area.

Even the then head of the Johannesburg Traffic and Security Department, John Pearce, known as a strong NP supporter, arranged thirty of his traffic police staff to be there, using a hired bus for transport. The men were told to apply for one day's leave retrospectively and to say

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they were going on their own initiative.

NP supporters were bused in from all parts of the province—as were AWB supporters—and included a busload from Pik Botha's home constituency of Westdene in Johannesburg.

Reporters from virtually every newspaper in the country—and many from abroad—plus a host of television teams converged on the hall, all having been tipped off that this was to be a grand showdown between the NP and the AWB.

Terre'Blanche arrives in Pietersburg, May 22, 1986.

Initially the AWB men started gathering at their meeting's venue—a stadium in the town, but they then moved off to the vicinity of the town hall, marching through the streets as promised. A group of young children, dressed in Voortrekker clothes and led by Kappie Kommando leader, Marie van Zyl, stood outside the hall with banners and placards condemning the NP.

Then more convoys of AWB supporters arrived, bearing placards which had slogans like "Yankee Pik Go Home" and "Pik Jy Pik die Blanke se graf" (Pik you are digging the White man's grave—a play on the word Pik which is also Afrikaans for "dig").

The first incident came when AWB supporter Attie Snyman from Nylstroom was arrested by police, apparently for standing too near the hall entrance, and led to a waiting police van. AWB leader (and local CP chairman) Isak Butler set off a shouting match with the police, saying they were not going to hold Snyman illegally. The police vehicle was surrounded by angry AWB men, and Snyman was promptly released.

The AWB crowd then turned its attention to the hall, which the NP organizers had tried to fill early before the meeting began. When the NP security team tried to prevent the AWB crowd, by now numbering some five thousand (considerably outnumbering the NP audience), from entering the hall, a bloody fight broke out. The AWB forces were simply too much for even the karate team, and the NP's elaborate security arrangements came to nothing. Breaking through the cordon an AWB vanguard took up position inside the hall, having gained access by pushing

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open one of the side doors. Inside the hall a fresh battle broke out, but the numbers were against the NP men. Within twenty minutes the hall had been completely taken over by the AWB, with Transvaal Four Color and AWB flags being hoisted on the stage.

About thirty policemen then entered the hall and tried in vain to remove the flags and their bearers, but were forced to withdraw as they were heavily outnumbered and the possibility of a fight with the crowd loomed large. Several members of the crowd were then arrested, but soon made their re-appearance at the hall, obviously having been taken round the corner and released.

The Battle of Pietersburg, May 1986. After twenty minutes of fierce hand-to-hand fighting, the AWB had physically seized the hall in which the National Party meeting was being held. Above: Terre'Blanche addresses his supporters outside the hall, and below, takes over the speaker's podium inside the hall after his men physically beat their way into the hall past the NP bodyguards, which included members of the national karate team.

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Several reporters were also caught up in the melee, and were punched and thrown off the stage, but none were seriously hurt. By 6 p.m. the NP master of ceremonies, Jan Steytler, conceded that it was impossible to proceed with the meeting. Pik Botha himself never even saw the inside of the hall.

General chaos continued until 6:20 p.m., when Terre'Blanche entered the hall, carried shoulder high by some of his men. As the AWB crowd stormed the door for the final time, two nervous young policemen who were supposed to be guarding the door—without batons or tear gas—sprayed purple dye on the front row before deciding there was nothing further they could do. Professor Alkmaar Swart, chairman of the AWB's Great Council, was amongst those to be sprayed with the dye.

A final brawl then broke out inside the hall, with the noise rising to an incredible din. The

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NP contingent put up a fierce last stand, but were yet again defeated in the bloodiest fight of the evening. Prominent conservatives Robert Van Tonder from the Boerestaat committee, HNP leading light Meinhard Peters, and then Johannesburg CP chairman Clive Derby Lewis, were all amongst the crowd in the final battle.

True to his word that he and not Botha would speak from the stage that evening, Terre'Blanche gave an impromptu speech to the assembled crowd. Just as he was about to begin, he was dramatically confronted by NP supporter Leo Senekal, who had come all the way from Tzaneen for the meeting. Senekal's face was bloodied form the vicious fighting that had taken place, and placing himself directly in front of Terre'Blanche screamed at him: "This is Afrikaner Blood and it is on your head!"

Terre'Blanche ignored him and launched into his speech. As he was speaking, a senior police officer, Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, who was later transferred away from that police division as a result of the events that night, then entered the hall accompanied by two very young policemen.

With the aid of a loud-hailer Van Rensburg announced that the crowd had five minutes to get out of the hall. Against a background of catcalls, Van Rensburg looked at his watch and took a slow count to five seconds. He then ordered one of the policemen with him to throw tear gas into the crowd. Three tear gas canisters were thrown in quick succession, sparking off widespread panic.

The crowd, Terre'Blanche included, stampeded for the exits and much damage was done to the hall at that stage. Windows were smashed out and doors were taken off their hinges by the crowd in their effort to escape the gas. Many did not make it in time, and amongst others the Kappie Kommando's Marie Van Zyl was spotted retching on the ground outside. Outside the hall the crowd regrouped, and were again warned to leave the site. Almost immediately more tear gas was thrown. Several men had to be restrained from attacking the police, and one of the young policemen involved shouted back that the orders to throw tear gas had come direct "from the state president." A few stones were thrown at the police vehicles standing outside, leaving a few scratches on the paintwork, but doing no major damage.

Unrepentant and jubilant AWB supporters then went back to the stadium where their original meeting had been scheduled to take place. By 8:30 p.m., less than half an hour after the first tear gas canisters had been thrown, the stadium had virtually been filled. Terre'Blanche entered just before 9:00 p.m. to an enthusiastic roar from the crowd of nearly five thousand. After a short victory speech, the crowd left the stadium and dispersed peacefully.

The "Battle of Pietersburg" also marked the beginning of the use of the police to protect NP meetings, a practice which continued for many years. Another important result of "the Pietersburg Putsch" was that from then on all posters and advertisements for NP public meetings carried the words "Right of Admission Reserved" in small letters, causing Terre'Blanche to claim that the NP was too scared to hold "public meetings" as such because of the AWB. In this regard the AWB made good its promise that no cabinet minister would speak at a public meeting in the Transvaal again, for since then NP meetings have not been "public" in the true sense of the word, and have been legally reserved for registered NP members.

The resultant chaos as people tried to get out of the hall caused great damage to the fixtures but a later attempt to prosecute the AWB for damage to property came to nothing. The attorney general of the Transvaal refused to prosecute anybody, specifically stating that the police action had caused the damage. The NP, as hirers of the hall, ended up paying for the physical damage.

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Minister of Manpower Pietie Du Plessis, who was to have been chairman of the meeting, lashed out angrily at the police for what he believed to be their support of the right wingers. “The police were not capable, or did not want to maintain law and order,” Du Plessis said, adding that Terre’Blanche had actually entered the hall “escorted by the police.”

Terre’Blanche said in reply that he had told the officer in charge that he wanted to talk to the main NP organizers in the hall. “The police did not object to this. I asked the police only to assist me in getting through the crowd to the main doors. Once I had reached the main door my people started pushing and the doors were forced open.”

Du Plessis remained adamant that in future the NP “would make its own arrangements and not rely on police for protection to ensure that our meetings are not disrupted.” Another local prominent Nationalist, President’s Councilor Tjol Lategan, also accused the police of apathy. A spokesman for the Northern Transvaal police denied the NP’s claims, saying that the doors had been forced open by the crowd, and that the police had not even been present when it had happened.

Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange initially refused to comment on the allegations, only saying he had taken note of them and “if one must accept them as being correct, then it is most unfortunate. But I am not prepared to comment at this stage.” Two of John Pearce’s Johannesburg Traffic and Security men had to be bailed out after being arrested in the fights and five AWB men were in a similar position. The AWB men were lucky in that their bail money was collected in a short time from the crowd at the AWB stadium meeting, while the NP men had to pay out of their own pockets.

The only person not too upset by the drama was Black theologian Bishop Desmond Tutu, who said that “Black people will not be too worried about the fighting between Whites at Pietersburg. If they can now turn on one another, that means our battles are going to be less horrendous.”

The Friday following the Pietersburg fight, three hundred Orange Free State AWBs (out of a total of five hundred people attending) swooped on an NP rally in the town of Warden in that province, preventing Agriculture Minister Sarel Hayward from speaking. Four NP public meetings had been wrecked in as many weeks.

The AWB seemed invincible, and membership applications flooded in as never before. Masses of foreign media coverage brought home for the first time to many in the outside world that the split in Afrikanerdom was more than just superficial, but in actual fact as deep as the split between the United Party and the NP during the Second World War.

Even the accusations of police partiality had echoes from the war years—then many policemen were accused of being sympathetic to the Ossewabrandwag and indeed more than a few were prosecuted for OB activities.

Minister of Police Le Grange himself was scheduled to address a meeting in Ellisras, another Northern Transvaal town, on May 24, 1986, and it was widely expected that the AWB would try to take over this meeting as well.

The press, who were hoping for another Hollywood-style bash, were disappointed. Small numbers from both sides attended the meeting with only about twenty AWB supporters and two hundred sedate NP members arriving. No serious incidents took place, probably because of the heavy police presence, which consisted of eight trucks and buses which surrounded the school where the meeting was being held. The policemen were commanded personally by General Bert Wandrag, the head of the police unrest units.

Four AWB men were however arrested when they refused to leave the premises, after

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being denied access on the grounds that they were not registered NP members.

During his speech, Le Grange rejected the allegations made by cabinet colleague Du Plessis that the police had been partial during the Pietersburg meeting, saying the allegations had been made by "people who did not have all the available facts and who were not at the meeting."

He blamed the violence on "aggressive AWB men who had taken over the meeting by sheer numbers. They were the cause (of the violence) under the leadership of Eugene Terre'Blanche and (Clive) Derby Lewis of Johannesburg," he said.

Terre'Blanche and Derby Lewis, upon hearing of Le Grange's allegations, issued a joint press statement condemning the allegations against them, saying Le Grange should "rather establish who had given the order to throw the tear gas. "The minister (Le Grange) was given wrong information, probably by Pik Botha, who got nowhere near the hall."

Predictably, a parliamentary row over the incident broke out, with the most telling point being made by the HNP member for Sasolburg, Louis Stofberg, who said the NP had no right to complain. He remembered the early days of the HNP, when the NP had used every method possible to smash up HNP meetings. "They virtually invented the tactic," he said, pointing out that no investigations were carried out when the NP broke up HNP meetings in Paarl, George, and Bloemfontein.

May 31 each year in the old South Africa was Republic Day—the day when full independence from the British Empire was declared by the then prime minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, in 1961. On the fifth anniversary of the Republic on May 31, 1966, Verwoerd promised that on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the republic in 1986 there would be an extra special gathering of the "volk" to celebrate.

By 1986 however, the National Party had steered away from the Verwoerdian apartheid model and had embarked on a new course—one of which Verwoerd would most definitely not have approved.

The year 1986 also saw unequaled growth for the Conservative Party and the AWB. As part of a unity drive, a committee called the Brits Unity Committee under former wrestler and AWB stalwart Manie Maritz (who had led the breakup of Louis Nel's Brits meeting) decided to make good Verwoerd's promise as well as mustering a show of force for propaganda purposes. It was decided to hold a joint right-wing meeting at the amphitheater of the Voortrekker monument outside Pretoria on Republic Day.

It was further agreed that the speakers would be CP leader Andries Treurnicht, HNP leader Jaap Marais, Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff, and Terre'Blanche.

The day of the rally was marked by hot brilliant sunshine—usual weather for Pretoria. From early in the morning cars ascended the little hill leading to the monument, until a huge traffic jam ensued and traffic police had to be called in to sort out the problem. Latecomers were not allowed to park their cars on top of the hill (there was no room for them anyway), and many faced a steep forty minute walk up to the meeting site.

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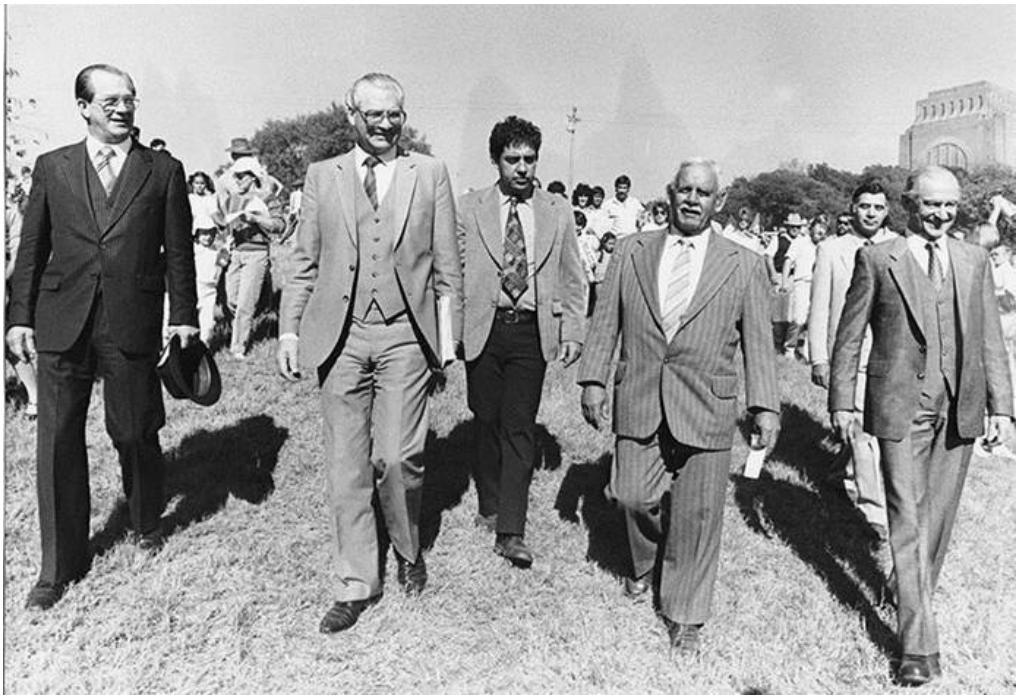

The "respectable right" make their entrance to the Voortrekker Monument rally, May 31, 1986. From left to right: Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party; Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Manie Maritz, independent right-winger and son of the famous Anglo-Boer war general of the same name; and Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP.

At the foot of the hill a dozen riot police kept watch on proceedings. One Black man who wandered into the premises was firmly removed by men in AWB uniforms, but the rest of the day passed without incident. The four leaders had previously all agreed to enter the amphitheater together and were to meet at a house in Pretoria. Boshoff, Treurnicht, and Marais all duly arrived at the prearranged site, where a message from Terre'Blanche was waiting for them—he had been delayed and would catch up later—they could in the meantime proceed to the monument. This they did, but Terre'Blanche never caught up with them.

Only when the three leaders were seated at the amphitheatre before the fifteen thousand-strong crowd did Terre'Blanche make a spectacular entry under a huge AWB flag carried by brown shirted AWB men wearing gas masks (symbolizing the Battle of Pietersburg which had taken place only nine days previously).

On his entry the crowd virtually to a man stood up and applauded—Terre'Blanche was clearly the favorite that day. Treurnicht and Marais spoke first, both receiving good but scattered applause.

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Terre'Blanche steals the thunder at the May 31, 1986 rally at the Voortrekker Monument. Entering on his own under a huge AWB banner, with men wearing gas masks to show they were Pietersburg veterans, Terre'Blanche was clearly the crowd favorite.

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Terre'Blanche spoke third, receiving far more applause than the first two speakers, culminating in the by then ritual chanting of "AWB, AWB" and a second standing ovation. As soon as he had finished his comparatively tame speech, large numbers of the audience got up and left without even waiting for Boshoff to deliver the closing address.

The way in which Terre'Blanche "stole the thunder" caused much bitterness in the ranks of the CP and HNP, with Jaap Marais later publicly attacking Terre'Blanche over it. For the AWB however, the meeting was a great success.

A week after the AWB had successfully wrecked Pik Botha's public meeting, an Indian MP in the House of Delegates (the Indian House of Parliament), one Boetie Abramjee, called upon the government to ban the AWB.

"The AWB is far more dangerous than the ANC," Abramjee said, further asking why police had not arrested any AWB members at the Pietersburg meeting. "The police were quick to arrest University of the Witwatersrand students at a protest march a few days earlier, so why did they not act against the AWB members?" he wanted to know.

Soon thereafter (early July 1986), a mysterious letter arrived in the AWB's post. Inside an envelope, without any cover or explanatory note, was a photocopy of a letter typed on the letterhead of the chairman of the Minister's Council of the House of Delegates, Amichand Rajbansi, to Abramjee (who was then an MP for Rajbansi's party) in Laudium, the Indian suburb outside Pretoria. Rajbansi was also at that stage a member of State President P.W. Botha's multiracial cabinet.

The letter contained a nasty surprise —a clear threat to Terre'Blanche's life, with a paragraph reading: "We must not forget that we occupy positions of some standing in Parliament and are protected and we must not allow this lunatic Terre'Blanche to threaten us in public. I can easily have him taken care of, even if it means sending someone to the Transvaal. I will further discuss the matter of discrediting him and the rest of the AWB HNP and CP, especially overseas,

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and the foreign press, at our next meeting."

The signature on the letter corresponded with that of Rajbansi's, but because the letter was a photocopy, its authenticity could never be finally established. Both Abramjee and Rajbansi themselves claimed the letter was a forgery. Terre'Blanche and CP leader Andries Treurnicht however did take the threats seriously, raising the matter with the press and the case was referred to the police for further investigation.

Rajbansi claimed that the letter was an attempt to discredit him, and said that at the time when he was supposed to have written the letter he was in fact resting at a health farm in Stellenbosch. Abramjee claimed that his address which appeared on the letter was incorrect, and wrongly appeared in the telephone directory next to his number.

Nothing ever came of the investigation, and the AWB never heard another word from the police or Rajbansi, who was later disgraced in another separate scandal and dismissed from his position in the cabinet.

In October 1986 Prime Minister P.W. Botha—who was never one to resist a challenge—decided to hold a meeting where his cabinet ministers could not—in the Northern Transvaal. Since the earlier clashes a few NP meetings in the area had taken place in peace. The AWB claimed that they had left the NP meetings alone because they were right of admission reserved meetings and not proper public meetings.

Botha then announced that he would be speaking in Potgietersrus, another far Northern Transvaal right-wing stronghold. The AWB in its turn was spoiling for just such a clash and Botha knew it.

At short notice Terre'Blanche announced that he would also be holding a meeting in Potgietersrus at exactly the same time as Botha's. Almost immediately the two sides began jockeying for the expected battle. Posters advertising both meetings were the first to feel the toll, with many being destroyed in the run up to the meetings.

The NP also decided to arrange very tight security to try and prevent a repeat of the Pietersburg debacle and for this purpose called in army and police protection. On the day of the meeting platoons of policemen from the Maleoskop training center, hordes of army infantrymen, armored vehicles (police Casspirs), heavy automatic firearms, and even machine gun nests were put into place surrounding the stadium where Botha was to hold his meeting and facing in the direction of the school where Terre'Blanche was holding his meeting.

A police helicopter was also called in and hovered continually between the AWB meeting place and the NP meeting place, monitoring any movement. About one thousand policemen in total stood guard around the perimeters of several hundred meters of barbed wire which was set up around Botha's venue, giving rise to the caustic comment of "Botha's chicken run."

Right of admission was strictly reserved and anybody who even remotely resembled an AWB supporter was refused access to the NP meeting. Dozens of policemen in plainclothes also formed part of Botha's audience. Botha himself in his younger days as an NP organizer in the Cape Province had specialized in breaking up opponents' meetings—even to the extent of riding a horse into an opponent's living room during a house meeting—and he was taking no chances that his meeting would be disrupted.

He knew from personal experience that the only way to prevent it happening to himself was to deny the other side access to his meeting. Botha drew only about one thousand people to his meeting, while Terre'Blanche drew over twenty-five hundred. Terre'Blanche's meeting was in stark contrast to the NP meeting—both in numbers attending and in spirit. The AWB men

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were spoiling for a fight, and Terre'Blanche barely restrained them from marching in column formation into the NP meeting.

As it was, groups of AWB men continually walked round the barbed wire compound, coming close enough to stick AWB stickers on the armored police vehicles. The AWB women also made a point of feeding the policemen, causing complaints from the NP side regarding police partiality. Botha made only oblique references to the AWB during his speech, which was devoted mainly to the reform program of the NP. The true meaning of the event lay in the fact that for the first time since the Second World War an Afrikaner leader had to rely on police and army units to protect him from other Afrikaners—a potent symbol of how divided the Afrikaner had become.

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CHAPTER SIX: THE ANC AND RUDOLF HESS

In 1987, the then South African State President, P.W. Botha, announced in his new year's message that there was to be a general election for the White House of Assembly in May of that year. Setbacks the previous year, not the least of which were the psychological knocks taken by the party at the hands of the AWB at the battles in the north, plus a realization on the part of the NP that the CP was gaining support daily, provided the reasoning for the early election.

NP strategists also hoped that an election held before the two right-wing political parties, the CP and the HNP, could form an alliance and sort out their difficulties with one another would be advantageous to the NP. This line of reasoning was to prove correct. Realizing that a poor performance at the polls would give the NP's reform program further impetus, the AWB worked furiously to make some sort of arrangement between the HNP and the CP.

The AWB's initial attempts to get the two parties to work together came to nothing, with the HNP and CP not even being budged by repeated threats on the part of Terre'Blanche to activate the AWB's party, the Blanke Volkstaat Party (BVP), and to consolidate right-wing voters that way.

It was then decided at short notice to hold a public meeting in Pretoria on the issue. On March 4, 1987, the AWB held one of its biggest public meetings in the Pretoria City Hall, with over six thousand people attending. During the meeting Terre'Blanche proposed a motion calling for the division of seats between the HNP and the CP.

Both parties initially accepted the motion, but while negotiations on finer detail were still underway the whole process broke down once again. The AWB then gave up its role as facilitator, and although it publicly blamed the HNP for the breakdown, did not specify for which party its supporters had to vote. In the end then, nothing was to come of the pact between the two parties which so many right-wingers wanted.

The two parties opposed each other at the polls, and let the National Party win eight seats in the election on a split right-wing vote. Personality differences, suspicion, and distrust dogged the discussions, and provided manna from heaven for the AWB's oft-stated belief that "party politics was divisive" to the volk.

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Terre'Blanche speaks under a huge AWB eagle, Durban city hall, 1987. The front cover of a National Party leaflet attacking the AWB.

In the run-up to the 1987 general election in South Africa the AWB launched an extra special number of public meetings and activities across the country in an attempt to draw as many people away from the National Party as possible. For this purpose Terre'Blanche addressed dozens and dozens of political meetings across the length and breadth of the land, far more than any other single individual. The meetings were marked by overflowing halls and enthusiastic responses for calls to join the movement.

One of the most spectacular meetings Terre'Blanche held during this time period was in

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the Johannesburg City Hall on April 28, 1987. Johannesburg, traditionally one of South Africa's most liberal cities, and also with the biggest concentration of Jewish inhabitants in the country, was long regarded as a bastion into which a right-wing group like the AWB would never gain a foothold.

However, both conservatives and liberals alike were amazed to see the cavernous Johannesburg City Hall packed to the brim with at least two thousand people on the night of the meeting. The last time Johannesburg saw a meeting of equal size was when assassinated Prime Minister Dr H.F. Verwoerd spoke there in the 1960s.

During his speech Terre'Blanche attacked about everyone not on the right wing. The South African Broadcasting Service, the television, the National Party, P.W. Botha, the Anglo-American Corporation, and the Afrikaans press all came under fire.

The meeting provoked a controversy all of its own when one of the introductory speakers, Advocate Chris Beyers, referred to the increasing infiltration and occupation for residential purposes by Coloured and Black people in the flatland areas of the city (particularly Hillbrow which was always a majority Jewish-inhabited suburb), in contravention of then existing separate residential area legislation, and had the crowd on their feet when he told them that when the AWB came to power "we will chase all the kaffirs (a derogatory Afrikaans word for Africans, originating with the word Khufur, which is Arabic for Unbeliever) out of the Jewish buildings."

Press people present misquoted this sentence completely and the next day headlines in most of the papers appeared saying Terre'Blanche had said that the "AWB was going to chase the Jews and Blacks out of Johannesburg."

Terre'Blanche in fact never mentioned Jews once during that speech, but nonetheless a furor erupted over what the newspapers alleged he had said. Jewish Progressive Party MP Harry Schwarz, who had clashed with Terre'Blanche earlier that year at a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon precisely over the issue of Jewish rights, took the faulty press reports at their word and issued a statement saying that as a Jew he intended to stay in South Africa and continue to work so that "the type of regime envisaged by Mr. Terre'Blanche would never come about."

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies also took the reports at face value, and issued a statement saying they were "shocked" at Terre'Blanche's comments. Chairman of the board, Gerald Leissner, said the "AWB is the very antithesis to what is needed most in South Africa at the present time, namely freedom from prejudice."

The AWB never made any effort to correct the wrongful impression and left it at that.

With the 1987 election results showing a dramatically increased right-wing vote, it was clear even to the National Party that the AWB was no longer just on the fringe, but had become a very real and serious threat to NP hegemony.

The National Party Member of Parliament for the constituency of Springs, Piet Coetzer, then drew up a pamphlet on the AWB, on behalf of his party's Transvaal information service. The pamphlet was by far the strongest ever direct attack on the AWB and the CP by the NP, and the fact that a special pamphlet was issued precisely for the purpose of "exposing" the AWB shows the extent to which the NP saw the AWB as a threat.

The four page pamphlet, titled *Concealed by Jackboots and Piety*, had on its front page a picture of Terre'Blanche speaking under an AWB eagle, and in the text claimed to have found clear traces of "Nazism and anti-Semitism" in the AWB's constitution and program of principles. Stating that there were no fewer than twelve different statements on the "herrenvolk" idea, seven anti-Semitic statements, fifteen rejections of parliamentary democracy, twelve statements to the

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effect that the AWB envisaged an authoritarian government, and eleven rejections of capitalism, the pamphlet went on to question the links between the AWB and the CP. It was primarily this attack on the AWB which convinced that organization to rewrite its program of principles, a task which was completed in 1987.

In July 1987 a group of sixty-five White South Africans, under the leadership of the former leader of the (anti-apartheid) Progressive Federal Party opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, left for discussions with the African National Congress in Dakar in Western Africa.

The visit was organized by Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), an organization he and a fellow ex-PFP MP Dr Alex Borraine had set up when they decided to quit parliamentary politics. The fact that the majority of the touring group were Afrikaans speaking led to both local and foreign media presenting them as a group of advanced Afrikaners who were going to lead other Afrikaners to the negotiating table.

In the eyes of the AWB, however, this group was "certainly no longer Afrikaners but deviates who unknowingly had swallowed the ANC propaganda that it was aiming at a multiracial democratic state."

The AWB then went on to threaten the members of the delegation that their names had been noted and that they were regarded as collaborators.

"The ANC has declared war and is thus the enemy. It is untenable that our wives and children die in the country, and our boys at the borders at the hands of these terrorists while at the same time South Africans are allowed to commit treason by colluding with the enemy. These traitors have made their choice: they have chosen against the nation and for the ANC. The AWB will never again recognize them as members of the volk. We regard them in the same light as the ANC and will deal with them accordingly."

The AWB was further infuriated to find out that they had been a point of discussion between the visitors and the ANC. In dramatic fashion Terre'Blanche sent a telegram to Slabbert and the group in Dakar, telling them that "the AWB would get you at Jan Smuts International Airport" upon their return to South Africa.

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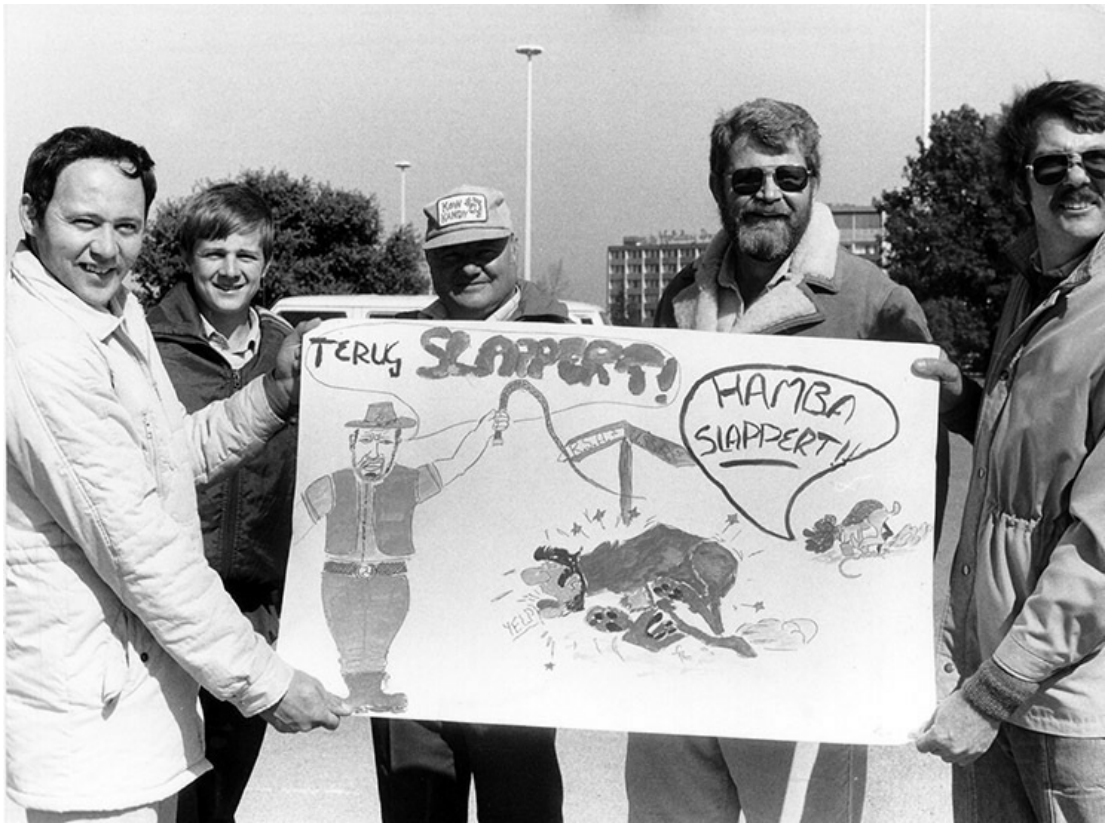

AWB supporters outside the Johannesburg airport show what they intend to do to Van Zyl Slabbert and the "Dakarites."

True to their word, about six hundred AWBs arrived at nine o'clock on the morning of July 21, 1987, and gathered at the international reception hall of Jan Smuts airport on the East Rand. Terre'Blanche himself arrived a little later to a rousing rendition of the traditional Afrikaner nationalist "Song of Young South Africa," and then the crowd settled down to wait for the "Dakarites" as the IDASA group came to be known. Amidst much chanting and singing, the announcement that the flight had arrived was made over the airport's public address system.

With cries of "Come out we are waiting!" the AWB crowd pressed round the exit corridor. When a British Airways hostess unsuspectingly came walking out carrying a Black baby (belonging to one of the aircraft's passengers), she was met with hisses and catcalls, including a shout that the "Bible says you must not mix with the beasts of the field."

Slabbert himself had stayed behind in Dakar in order to fly on to other engagements in Europe and the party was then under the leadership of Dr Alex Borraine. The IDASA group, quite correctly sensing the possibility of a physical confrontation should they try and leave the airport building (the crowd's plan was to grab the Dakar group by the legs through the police cordon and trample them once they had been pulled into the crowd), decided to stay in the outside arrival area while deciding what to do. After being told by the airport security that their safety could not be guaranteed, most of the IDASA group decided to stay on the airplane and fly on to Cape Town, where no such hot reception awaited them.

The local police riot unit was called out to keep things under control and they temporarily detained one AWB supporter for displaying a poster calling the IDASA group traitors. (Legislation forbade the display of any political poster or demonstration in airport buildings.)

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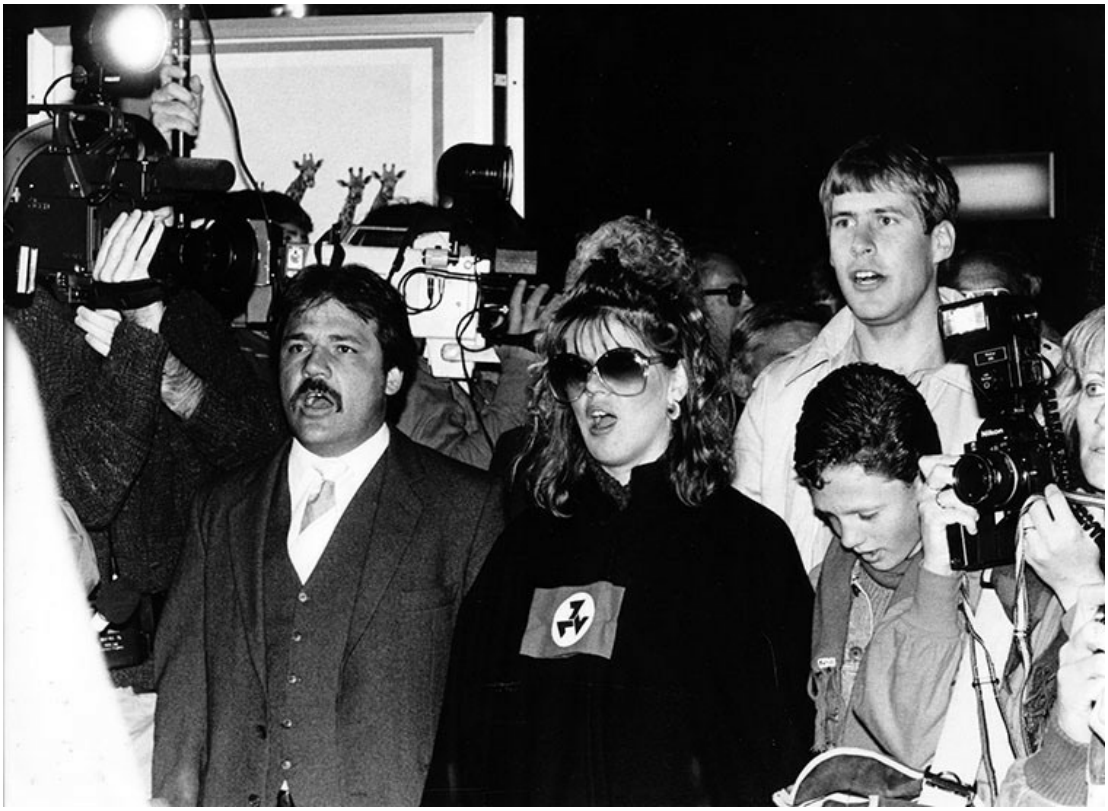

AWB supporters sing inside the airport arrival hall, and below, Terre'Blanche addresses the press at the airport. To his immediate right, Willie Olivier, AWB secretary general, who was also the last private secretary to the assassinated prime minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd.

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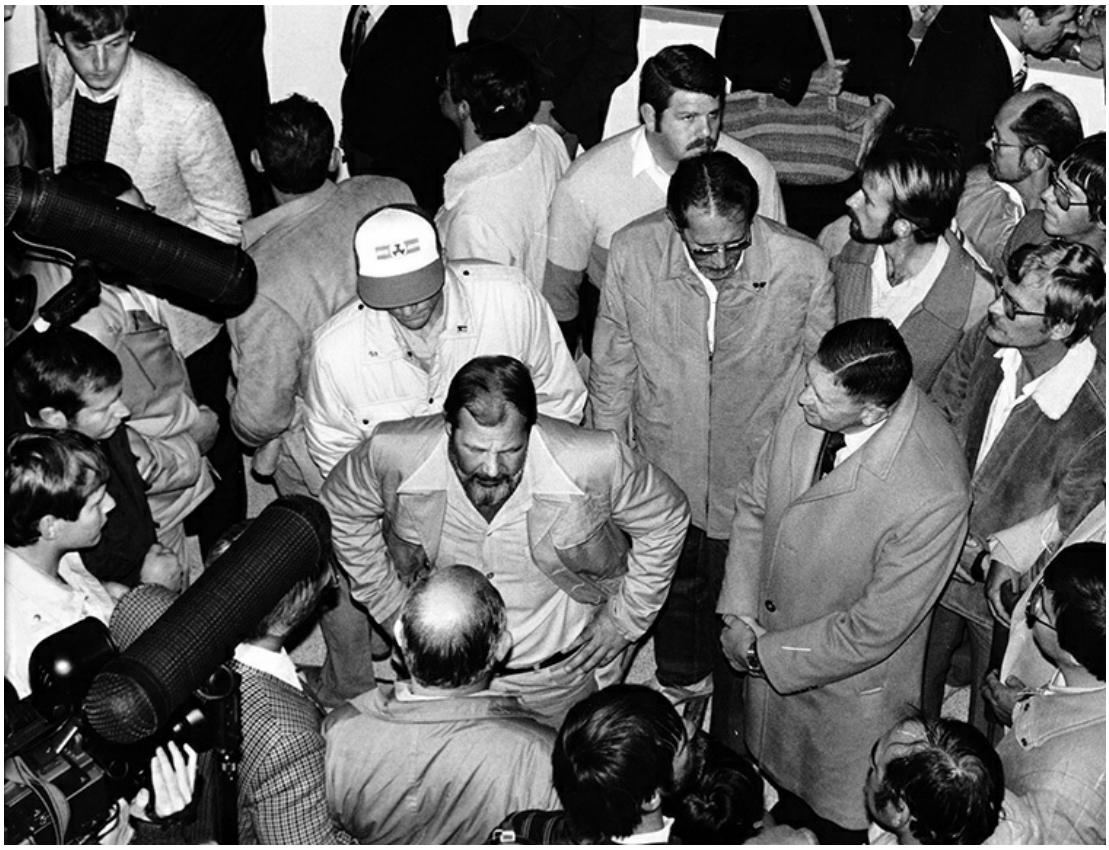

An IDASA press conference was cancelled, and an AWB press conference was banned by the senior policeman on the scene, Major General Pieter du Plessis. When it was announced that the majority of the IDASA group was flying on to Cape Town, Terre'Blanche was hoisted onto the shoulders of some of his men. "The Dakar delegates do not have the courage to look the volk in the eye," he said. "We want to let the world know they are not welcome in our country." He then told his people to leave the hall peacefully, thanking the police for their presence.

As the AWB crowd moved outside the building a group of about ten University of the Witwatersrand students, who had also been awaiting the IDASA group's arrival, unfurled a big banner reading "Viva ANC" and started singing the song "Nkosi Sikele iAfrika" (God Bless Africa)—then already regarded by Blacks as the as the national anthem.

One lone right-winger, angered at the lack of police reaction to the pro-ANC banner (also illegal in terms of airport legislation) rushed back into the hall and physically broke up the student group. The rightwinger was arrested, but released a few minutes later.

In the meantime outside the building, press people, who had been taking pictures and videos of the whole drama, were baton-charged by about forty policemen who linked arms and ran at the crowd of left and right-wing demonstrators.

Nineteen people, including sixteen journalists, were arrested and charged, and many rolls of film were confiscated, but still that evening on television screens around the world people saw the dramatic footage of the AWB at Jan Smuts airport. Terre'Blanche later threatened to launch a private prosecution of the Dakar visitors, but nothing ever came of the attempt.

Exactly a week after the Dakar drama at Jan Smuts Airport Terre'Blanche was scheduled to speak in a place that would normally have been even more out of the question than Johannesburg—in the predominantly English-speaking city of Durban.

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Terre'Blanche had spoken once before in Durban in September of 1986, and had drawn a fair size crowd of around one thousand. This time he drew a capacity hall and shook the liberal city to its core. Not only did the AWB decide to hold a meeting in Durban, but also with incredible optimism they chose Durban City Hall, which was one of the biggest halls available.

Posters advertising the meeting had been put up in the city during the week prior to the meeting, and it soon became the talk of the town. The youth wing of the Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi's Zulu organization, Inkatha, promptly proceeded to announce that they would not let the AWB speak in Durban, even if it meant breaking up the meeting. This call was echoed by left-wing White students at the University of Natal Durban.

Hearing of these threats, a section of the then still fledgling "Aquila" unit (an early armed AWB wing) was mobilized, and accompanied Terre'Blanche down to Durban on the day of the meeting.

Inside the hall the stage behind the podium was decorated with a huge eagle grasping the triple seven emblem, and photographs of Terre'Blanche speaking under this striking and very reminiscent emblem were published worldwide.

As the hall began filling up, the Aquila unit put on a precision drill display outside and they physically prevented Blacks from entering the meeting.

To everyone's surprise, the hall was filled to overflowing with almost three thousand people. This was regarded as an amazing achievement bearing in mind Terre'Blanche never spoke in English during his meetings and that Natal is a predominantly English-speaking province.

The Aquila unit took up positions alongside the walls of the hall, ready for any trouble. The delegation of students from the university sat dead quiet and not one uttered a word the entire evening. The meeting, which was regarded as a great success for the AWB, went off without a hitch.

During the meeting Terre'Blanche warned the leader of the Coloured Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, not to use the Tortoise Hall in Pretoria for his party's congress that year. The Labour Party was planning to use the hall (regarded as right-wing hallowed ground since both the HNP and the CP had been formed there) the following month and had already paid the reservation fee.

This threat was investigated by the police for a possible contravention under an unusual law called the Intimidation Act, which provided especially for cases where threats were made with a political motive. At the same time a second charge against Terre'Blanche was made for an alleged similar offence—based on the double meaning of the telegram he had sent to Slabbert before the Dakar visitors returned back to South Africa. As the original wording was in Afrikaans ("Ons sal julle by die Lughawe kry") it was open to a double meaning—either "we will meet you at the airport" or "we will get you at the airport."

The point of law proved too fine to push further and eventually the dossiers were closed as it was felt that the case would not stand up in court.

The threatened lawsuit was however enough to prevent the AWB from disrupting the Labour Party congress, which went ahead as planned.

One of the AWB men originally involved in the tarring and feathering of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld, Koos Vermeulen (he carried the tar), broke with the AWB after a few years, saying the AWB was only "halfway there."

Vermeulen then founded a new organization called the Afrikaner National Socialists (ANS). The ANS was not publicity hungry, and held meetings behind closed doors on

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Vermeulen's plot outside Pretoria. For many years the only functions held by the ANS were Hitler birthday parties, which were colorful affairs with lots of swastika banners and speeches, and the occasional Sonnenwende, or Sun Feast to mark the passing or beginning of the summer or winter solstices. Vermeulen built up a worldwide network of National Socialist contacts, who regularly wrote to each other and exchanged news and views.

Vermeulen also launched a "World Apartheid Movement" which had as affiliates several dozen organizations across the globe, all working for the support of apartheid both in South Africa and their own countries.

In August 1987, however, the ANS received its first widespread publicity when the leading martyr of the modern day neo-Nazi movement, Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess, died in Spandau Prison in West Berlin. Vermeulen decided to arrange a commemorative service in the Pretoria West cemetery for Hess. The part of the cemetery specially set aside for the German community was chosen as the venue.

All the guests were invited individually by telephone and on the day—August 20, 1987—approximately 250 people, including some wearing swastika badges, arrived at the cemetery grounds.

The service was also attended by representatives from the AWB, who along with several other organizations, laid a wreath next to the stone monument commemorating all those Germans who fell in the First and Second World Wars. The AWB wreath had a little AWB flag in its center.

Other guests who made speeches were Professor Johan Schabort, from the new organization, the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement), and Meinhard Peters from the HNP (who also laid a wreath). An overseas visitor was Thies Christophersen, an old German soldier whose claim to fame was authoring a book which called the Auschwitz gas chamber story a lie.

After the wreaths were laid and speeches were given by some of the guests, a musical interlude was played and then two of Vermeulen's huge swastika flags were slowly unfurled by two of his children, who were dressed in Voortrekker (the Afrikaans equivalent of the Boy Scouts) uniform.

A daily newspaper, *The Citizen*, had been tipped off about the event by one of the guests from Krugersdorp and managed to get a picture of the proceedings, which was published on the front page of that paper the next day. The picture and the report of the event were met with widespread shock on the part of the Jewish community and government circles. The fact that the AWB had participated in it provided for even greater shock value.

An underground Jewish group, the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO), which claimed to be affiliated to Rabbi Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League (JDL) in the United States issued a statement saying "the Nazi AWB must be prepared to face the consequences if they continue to give the Hitler salute to the Swastika flag and incite racial hatred in South Africa. Jewish unity is only strengthened by vicious outbursts of anti-Semitism. The AWB must realize they are no longer dealing with the Jews of the period before the Second World War."

Jewish Progressive Party MP Harry Schwarz demanded a full investigation of the activities of the Nazi gathering. A Jewish member of the National Party and president's councilor, Issy Pinshaw, said the service had been a provocative act. "All decent South Africans should condemn it in the strongest possible terms," he said. "The participation of the AWB at the Nazi memorial service indicates where the organizations sympathies lie. Anti-Semitic statements by the AWB are all the more reprehensible when underscored by this obvious pro-Nazi stance."

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Jewish Board of Deputies president Professor Michael Katz was equally as strong in his condemnation of the incident. “The participation in the ceremony of members of the AWB was also a matter that calls for the strongest possible criticism,” he said.

Terre’Blanche lost no time in reacting to the criticism. “The arrogant Zionist reaction to an innocent private wreath laying ceremony leaves a bitter taste in the mouth,” he said. “This is especially so if one considers the continual attacks by the Jewish controlled Sunday press on Afrikaners and right-wingers.” Terre’Blanche went on to warn “Zionist organizations” not to be intolerant to other nations, adding that such intolerance will “cause them a lot of trouble in this country.” He confirmed that he had sent a delegation to the service because he himself had not been able to attend in person. (Terre’Blanche was in fact on the road in Natal at the time of the service.) He said he had done this to honor a German “who tried to bring peace to his country, was caught because of it and made to spend the rest of his life in a prison. The AWB honored a man who identified Marxism and Communism and had fought it.”

Tensions between the right wing and the Jewish community reached an all-time high shortly thereafter when a pig’s head was left on the steps of a Durban Jewish club, along with a planted fake newspaper report that “uniformed and goose stepping Nazis” had left it there.

Although the pig’s head was left there by an Irish woman, Yvonne Tina Malone (who then left the country before she could be taken to court for libel), the AWB was blamed for the incident as well.

A synagogue at the Pretoria West cemetery—which ironically looks out over the memorial where the Hess service was held, was damaged soon after in a shotgun attack. The synagogue doors were also smashed in during the same attack, causing another uproar. The Jewish Defense Organization then announced that it was going to start defending synagogues and cemeteries with armed patrols. “We will meet force with force,” said the anonymous spokesman of the JDO. He also requested the government to ban the AWB.

The threats and counter threats were taken seriously enough for the police to issue orders to local station commanders with instructions to take extra precautions around synagogues during the high holy days. No further incidents were reported.

Without the shadow of a doubt, one of the most emotion-packed days in the entire history of the AWB was the celebration at the site of the Battle of Blood River on October 10, 1987. During the year there had been ominous government rumblings that the public holiday which fell on October 10 each year, called Kruger’s Day, was going to be given a new name or done away with completely in light of the new political dispensation in the country—rumors which had been met with much hostility by the AWB.

It was precisely the decision to change the name of the day which prompted the AWB to hold a rally at the Blood River battle site. On that day in 1987 the AWB arrived in force at the original battlefield, which is marked out with concrete replicas of wagons on virtually the exact spot of the historic battle in 1838.

Some AWB supporters had arrived there the previous day and had camped overnight on the emotion-filled battle site. The next morning a stream of supporters from all over Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State poured into the amphitheater built near the site. The activities began at 10.30 a.m.

First the crowd of several thousand was entertained by traditional folk dances, then they sang hymns and listened to a religious sermon.

The crowd then moved to the concrete wagon laager, where they sang Psalms 68 and 130 —two old Voortrekker psalms. Thereafter direct descendants of various Trekkers came forward

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to lay wreaths.

The original vow, as read by the Trekkers just prior to the Battle of Blood River, was then read out by Professor Alkmaar Swart, chairman of the AWB's Great Council. While the vow was being read out Terre'Blanche sank to his knees and bowed his head, an example which was followed by many others present.

A horse commando led by Manie Maritz then rode into the center of the concrete wagon laager, carrying the flags of the old Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics. Manie Maritz represented the Transvaal, whilst a "Commandant" Van Huysteen represented the Orange Free State. Both brought messages of solidarity to Northern Natal.

The meeting was also marked by the second official public appearance of the AWB's new special guard unit, Aquila, which marched to and from the amphitheater, followed by the horse commando and the spectators. Aquila took charge of a flag raising ceremony in the amphitheater, after which Terre'Blanche delivered the main address. A motion calling on the AWB to launch a final action to regain the old Boer Republics was read out and adopted, along with an undertaking to present the motion to a bigger countrywide mass gathering the next year.

Television stations from around the world (except for the government-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation) sent teams and gave the event wide coverage. Even a Japanese television team was present and sent back a report on the event.

The meeting was a prelude to the biggest meeting the AWB was ever to hold and which occurred the following year in the Skilpad (tortoise) Hall in Pretoria.

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CHAPTER SEVEN: THE AWB AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

The relationship between the apartheid era official opposition Conservative Party and the AWB was, until the 1989 election, one of constant speculation and much controversy.

The reason for the controversy was that the Conservative Party was widely regarded as the "acceptable" face of the right wing in South Africa, and the National Party of course did as much as was possible to link the CP to the AWB for propaganda purposes.

Before the September 1989 general election the relationship between the two groups was exceptionally cordial, as can be seen by what was said about the CP in the official mouthpiece of the AWB, *Sweepslag* (the movement's newspaper), in the June 1988 edition:

"Dr. A.P. Treurnicht's break with the National Party and the subsequent founding of the Conservative Party on March 20, 1982, is for several reasons of special importance to the AWB.

"The Afrikaner volk and those other language speakers who associate themselves with the Afrikaner have to a large degree found party unity in the CP. With the founding of the CP, the AWB saw to a large degree the fruit of all its labor. Over many years the movement had been doing the convincing, the preparation and influencing. In the Conservative Party the AWB has found an ally, equally determined in its assault against the power sharing policy of the NP. There are no clashes of interest between the AWB and the CP.

"While the AWB's ideal is a Boerevolkstaat, the CP's policy is one of partition which will come down to the division of land leading to the attainment of an own free fatherland for the Afrikaners.

"In principle then, there is no difference between the AWB and the CP. The CP fights on the party political terrain and as official opposition it is the CP's task to oppose the NP government. The AWB and the CP are allies in the struggle and when the CP takes over the political power the AWB will be there to cover its back."

By 1989 however, these words would have been forgotten in a bitter squabble between the two groups and Terre'Blanche would have dismissed the CP as "irrelevant."

Once the 1987 negotiations between the CP and HNP came to naught, the AWB decided to throw itself full time into the fray against the National Party.

The fifteenth anniversary of the AWB was marked by a special edition of *Sweepslag* which claimed that two CP MPs were AWB members. These two "leading AWB members" were advocate Chris de Jager and Fanie van Vuuren, who were nominated as Conservative Party candidates in the Transvaal constituencies of Bethal and Ventersdorp respectively during the 1987 general election.

Both received the personal support of Terre'Blanche. He appeared on stage with both of them more than once, with another CP candidate (in the Stilfontein constituency) Pieter Groenewald, also sharing a platform with Terre'Blanche and Van Vuuren. Both Van Vuuren's and De Jager's opponents were political heavyweights, one being a cabinet minister (Greyling Wentzel) and the other being a deputy cabinet minister (Ben Wilkens). Terre'Blanche spoke no less than eight times in Van Vuuren's and de Jager's constituencies, each time urging support for the two AWB members. On polling day, the constituencies, which had been National Party seats for thirty-nine years, fell to the Conservative Party, both with relatively big majorities of over fifteen hundred votes—in the then South African parliamentary terms, very big wins.

The presence of AWB members in the CP caucus was later to be the cause of much controversy in the party, and the NP exploited the link to its utmost.

Terre'Blanche claimed at one stage that there were five AWB members in the CP caucus

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after the May 1987 election and this claim was also raised by NP members in attempts to discredit the CP, but only three CP MP's openly acknowledged that they were AWB men—Van Vuuren, De Jager and Daan Nolte (MP for the Western Transvaal constituency of Delmas). The mysterious fourth and fifth alleged AWB members were not so easily identifiable.

De Jager however was not shy about his membership. Openly admitting it in parliament, he said it was not true that there were five members of the AWB in parliament —there were only three. "The point is that I am not ashamed of my membership of the organization and it does not meet in secret, as is the case with the Afrikaner Broederbond," he said, challenging all those cabinet ministers who were Broederbonders to stand up and identify themselves.

This admission, made in parliament, brought about a shower of accusations from National Party MPs against the Conservative Party that it was being used by the AWB in parliament as a front to promote a Boerestaat (a "Boer State").

NP MPs also alleged that the fourth and fifth "missing links" were the MP for Ermelo, Moolman Mentz, and a nominated English-speaking MP, Clive Derby-Lewis.

This claim of five AWB MPs was however untrue. Mentz and Derby-Lewis were never members of the AWB, although they had both had informal contact with Terre'Blanche and the AWB. Mentz himself vigorously denied in parliament that he was an AWB member.

He was in fact never a signed up member of the AWB, although he was at one stage asked to serve on its head council—an invitation he declined.

The allegation that Clive Derby-Lewis was an AWB member was also untrue. Although he had attended and addressed several AWB meetings, he had also never become a member.

Questioned about the presence of AWB members in the CP caucus during a press conference in Johannesburg late in January 1988, CP leader Treurnicht said he was satisfied that the MPs in question were completely loyal to the principles and policy of the CP. "This policy includes the belief in democratic methods of getting the support of a majority of Whites. There are no links as such between the AWB and the CP. Although it is true to state that certain members of the CP also belong to the AWB, those CP members all adhere to CP principles."

Speaking at a public meeting in the Delmas area later the same month, Treurnicht said that even if it was accepted that a few CP MPs had joined the AWB, there was no way that the movement could "take over the Conservative Party." He did however say that members of all other right-wing groups were welcome to join the CP provided they subscribed to CP policy and party discipline.

At the same meeting Daan Nolte, the CP MP for Delmas, confirmed publicly that he was a member of the AWB. "I am a member of the AWB because I believe in preserving the Afrikaans culture and in the protection of Whites in South Africa," Nolte told the meeting.

The very first day that Treurnicht appeared in the White parliament on March 30, 1982, as official leader of the newly founded Conservative Party, the NP launched an all-out attack on him and the CP in general, attempting to link him and his party to the AWB.

As the budget debate went into its second day, NP MP for Pretoria Central (and longtime Treurnicht foe), Louis Nel, alleged that Treurnicht had entered into an agreement with the AWB at a secret meeting with the organization. Dramatically unfurling an AWB shirt with its three sevens emblem, Nel accused Treurnicht of "adopting the fascist AWB as your military wing" and called the shirt the "official uniform of Dr Treurnicht's military wing."

The very next month Treurnicht held talks with the AWB leadership, but flatly rejected any form of alliance with the organization.

The mere fact that he had agreed to talks with Terre'Blanche provided yet more

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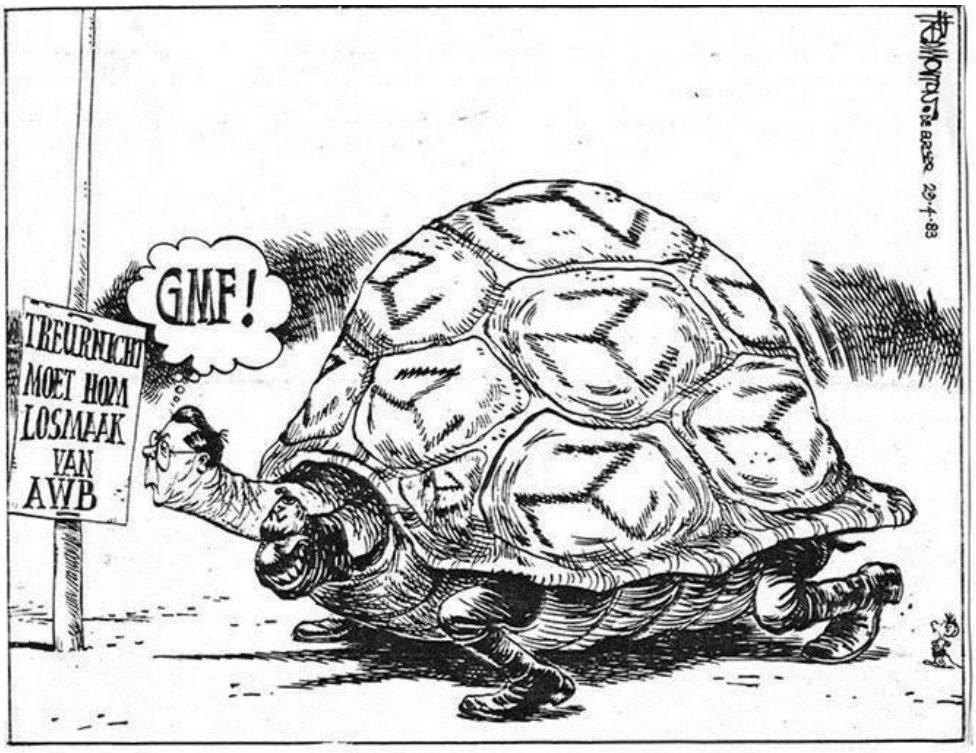
ammunition against the CP. The August 1982 edition of *Nat '80*, the official National Party organ, carried an article co-written by Jan Grobler, editor of the paper, and MP for the Transvaal constituency of Brits, and Louis Nel, MP for Pretoria Central, slating the CP for alleged links with the AWB.

"As long as the CP remains linked to the AWB in any manner it has no moral right to make out as if it is conservative. Every right-thinking voter should ask himself if he as a Christian person can ally himself with the philosophy (National Socialism), methodology (anti-democracy), character (exploitation of all possible Afrikaner sentiments and religion), goals (the changing of the parliamentary system), and the God and man worldview of the AWB."

The article asked further, "What brotherhood is there between the CP and the AWB?" Grobler and Nel were to find out by meeting the AWB face to face in Brits a little while later.



The National Party supporting newspaper, Die Burger, *carried this cartoon on the relationship between the AWB and the Conservative Party: two heads of the same tortoise. The poster reads "Treurnicht must rid himself of the AWB." It is being read by the "Treurnicht head" of the tortoise.*

The arrest of Terre'Blanche and several other members of his organization in December 1982 on arms charges yet again provided more propaganda against the CP. Treurnicht steadfastly refused to condemn the AWB unless the organization itself was found guilty of an offense—something which did not happen.

As the court cases progressed, the various judges and magistrates involved all stressed that only individuals were on trial, and not the AWB itself, providing a convenient excuse for both the AWB and the CP not to be pinned down on this issue.

During the by-elections held during the "Battle of the Bergs," the NP supporting Afrikaans newspapers went all out to identify the CP with the AWB, even down to photographing audiences at AWB meetings to see if any prominent CP men could be spotted in

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the crowd.

The pressure soon grew so intense that both Treurnicht and another of the CP's by-election candidates made public denials of any link between the two groups at public meetings during the campaign.

These denials did not stop the allegations and of the three seats being contested in the by-elections, the NP managed to retain two, mainly as a result of the campaign to link the CP and the AWB.

Terre'Blanche went to Cape Town on Monday, March 3, 1986, to meet with members of the Conservative Party's parliamentary caucus.

Representing the AWB were Terre'Blanche and Jan Groenewald, while the CP was represented by party leader Andries Treurnicht and Connie Mulder. Speaking afterwards, Treurnicht said that the discussions were conducted in "a friendly spirit" and that further talks were going to be held to discuss possible stronger links between the country's right-wing groups. "They assured us that the AWB is not a military organization and will not act outside the law," Treurnicht added. "They also assured us that they have absolutely no intention of entering the political arena. In regard to the Brandwag organization (an armed home guard created by the AWB and then just in the news) I indicated to them that we have no objection if people protect their lives and property within the law."

Treurnicht's statement was seized upon by the press and interpreted to mean that the CP had given official endorsement to the AWB and its more militant groupings. The AWB was then portrayed as the "military wing" of the CP in NP propaganda, which without any doubt certainly helped to slow the growth of the CP.

Piet Coetzer, the NP MP for Springs, then came forward with some startling allegations that CP deputy leader Connie Mulder had been part of a "secret meeting during which a rite to take up arms against the government was pledged." Coetzer said he had information to hand which said that the "Stormvalke" held secret meetings which were attended by Terre'Blanche personally during which they took oaths to be loyal to Afrikanerdom and to bear arms against the "liberal government."

He refused to name his sources, and Mulder dismissed the allegations as a "blatant lie." Treurnicht dismissed the claims as well, saying he was not even prepared to investigate them.

As soon as the new parliament which had been elected in the May 1987 elections convened, the NP went onto the attack over the presence of AWB members in the CP parliamentary caucus. Minister of Manpower Pietie Du Plessis was the first to open the attack when he claimed during the no confidence debate that Terre'Blanche "is the real controller of the Conservative Party. Dr Treurnicht's motion of no-confidence in the government reminds me of a puppet show. The visible parts—the puppets—are the Conservative Party but the puppet master pulling the strings is Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche," Du Plessis said.

Going on to question who in fact was the real leader of the opposition, Treurnicht or Terre'Blanche, Du Plessis quoted a statement allegedly made by a CP MP (Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg) to the effect that "the only difference the CP had with the AWB's proposed exclusively White Boerestaat was where the borders would be."

Treurnicht was then moved to explicitly reject AWB policy, saying that the "Boerestaat idea is too limited because its boundaries are restricted to those of the old Boer Republics. We say the claim of the White man is greater than that."

The March 1988 edition of the National Party newspaper, *The Nationalist*, then ran a story under the headline "AWB hijacks the CP" in which it claimed that the AWB had exactly

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the same policy as the Nazi Party of Hitler's Germany. Quoting Adolf Hitler and Eugene Terre'Blanche point for point on a number of policy issues the paper said that the two movements were similar in a number of ways with regard to the unification of all Germans (or White Afrikaners), the rejection of multi-party politics, and on the theme of racial superiority.

The Nationalist then posed the question: "What does Dr. Andries Treurnicht leader of the CP say about this? He is beholden with the presence of the five members of the AWB who are pledged to

the principles of the AWB. He refuses to confront the AWB members in his caucus with the choice: either the AWB or the CP—but not both.

He is powerless to halt the AWB members of his caucus in their efforts to steer his party onto a right-wing radical course."

The culmination of the NP-AWB-CP slanging match undoubtedly came with a television debate between Treurnicht and (the then) leader of the NP in the Transvaal, F.W. de Klerk, in February 1988. The debate had been timed to be broadcast just before polling day in three by-elections in the conservative Southern Transvaal, which had gone CP during the previous year's general election.

During the debate, which featured a special section devoted exclusively to the AWB-CP controversy, Treurnicht steadfastly refused to repudiate the AWB despite repeated requests from De Klerk to do so.

"Do you associate yourself with the political aims of the AWB—a South Africa drastically reduced in size, consisting basically of the Northern provinces, cut out of South Africa today?" De Klerk started by asking. "It involves an attitude which rejects non-Afrikaners and the acceptance of those who are prepared to associate themselves fully with the Afrikaner."

Treurnicht replied by saying that he recognized the right of those organizations operating within Afrikanerdom to promote the interests of their own national community. "In regard to the Afrikaner homeland, we told the AWB we could not agree with them," he said.

De Klerk again claimed that as long as the CP continued to "embrace the AWB" the NP was justified in thinking that the two organizations embraced each other's constitutions. Not too surprisingly, Treurnicht denied this allegation, but nonetheless defended "the right of an organization wishing to join me in resisting the dangerous direction you are taking. I do not endorse their policy. I have my own policy."

Following F.W. de Klerk's attacks on the AWB during the television debate, Terre'Blanche wrote a letter to De Klerk on March 10 challenging him to a television debate, saying that during his debate with Treurnicht he had attacked the AWB, and not the CP.

"During the debate you attacked and made allegations against the AWB knowing full well that the attacks should have been addressed to me personally. I am burning to reply to them. I therefore challenge you, on behalf of the AWB and the Afrikaner nation, to a television debate. Such a debate will present you with a golden opportunity to show that the NP is not afraid of the AWB and you can unmask the AWB for everything that you allege it is."

De Klerk answered in a letter to Terre'Blanche dated March 31, saying that as far as he was concerned Treurnicht was his (Terre'Blanche's) parliamentary leader and that if he was dissatisfied with how the debate had gone he should himself enter party politics.

"Should you yourself ever wish to enter party politics, you are free to do so. Should you get sufficient support in a poll you would also have the right to debate with politicians and leaders of other parties. This is the democratic way.

"Regardless of this, however, I am not prepared to lend status to an organization which in

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its participation in politics lends itself to the methods and style followed by the AWB."

In his reply (a letter dated April 8) Terre'Blanche dismissed De Klerk's claim that Treurnicht was the parliamentary leader of the AWB, but decided to take up the challenge to enter party politics.

"I reaffirm that the AWB will not enter party politics. . . . However, you have challenged me, and I now accept your challenge. I therefore request you to immediately resign as MP for Vereeniging so that a by-election can be held. You can then stand in your own constituency where your mouth is. I myself will then oppose you in such a by-election."

De Klerk rejected this challenge out of hand, dismissing it as a publicity stunt (which it was) and pointing out that Terre'Blanche could have stood for election during the 1987 election if he wanted to go to parliament.

Late in January 1988 the *Beeld* newspaper ran a series of front page stories linking the AWB to the CP in an attempt to damage the chances of the CP in the series of by-elections being held at that time. The most interesting of these stories was one about a tape recording of a telephone conversation between AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald and the HNP candidate in the Delmas constituency during the 1987 general election campaign, Danie van Zyl.

According to the transcript of the conversation, published by *Beeld*, the two men spoke of agreements between the AWB leadership and AWB members elected as MPs for the CP. Beeld also produced a document, entitled "Candidate's Statement with respect to an own free Christian Republican Boer State" which, *Beeld* claimed, AWB members standing for the CP had to sign, undertaking to fight for a Volkstaat from parliament. In return for this undertaking, continued *Beeld*, the candidates would receive official AWB backing.

In the tape Groenewald also claimed that the CP MP for Ermelo, Moolman Mentz, was a member of the AWB. He also allegedly said the CP MP for Delmas Daan Nolte had "joined the AWB just prior to the election in exchange for AWB support." The AWB accused the government of tapping its telephones and HNP leader Jaap Marais of making the transcript available to the press, allegations which were denied by all concerned. The document referred to by *Beeld* turned out to be a forgery, and was dismissed as such by Groenewald soon after the report first appeared. At a special news conference called soon after the transcript became public, AWB spokesman advocate Chris Beyers repeated the allegation that the HNP leaked the transcript in order "to drive a wedge in between the CP and the AWB."

The uproar of the presence of AWB members in the CP parliamentary caucus then subsided somewhat as the government's reform program began to speed up. Unknown to the press and all but a few in the CP itself, all three members of parliament who were AWB members resigned from the AWB early in 1988, bowing to pressure from within the party to do so. The 1989 election was marked by a final fallout between the AWB and the CP when Terre'Blanche demanded for himself a parliamentary seat at the expense of the CP—a request which was refused.

The 1989 elections also saw no openly identified AWB members elected as CP MPs (although in fact there was at least one—Koos Botha, who won the Wonderboom seat in Pretoria, but he kept his membership a secret), with the result that the issue of alleged collusion between the two groups died away—until the 1992 referendum.

After the 1989 election the AWB entered into a pact with the HNP whereby the leaders of both groups addressed joint meetings.

This development was a surprising turnabout for the HNP, which had long rejected any association with the AWB, but again went to prove that in politics there are no lasting principles,

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merely expediencies. This pact was however to be of fairly short duration, and soon Terre'Blanche stopped touring with Marais.

The united right-wing front, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), which was formed in 1993, once again saw the CP and the AWB officially teaming up against the government's policy of handing over to a one man one vote government. That time around however, there were no attempts to hide any links or associations, as by then the conservatively inclined White population had been defined and had accepted that the AWB was an intrinsic part of that particular wing of South African politics.

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CHAPTER EIGHT: FROM STANDERTON TO DONKERHOEK

When he was still Transvaal leader of the National Party, F.W. De Klerk launched an all-out attack on the AWB, as it was in his province the AWB had made the greatest inroads into NP support. During a series of three by-elections forced soon after the 1987 election, the NP and De Klerk tried everything possible to link the AWB to the Conservative Party, and thereby frighten at least some voters back to the NP. The Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*, ran a particularly strong campaign against the Conservative Party and the AWB, with stories linking the two groups making headlines at least every second day.

In November 1987 the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* published an open letter from De Klerk to Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party. In the letter, De Klerk charged that the AWB was a dangerous organization with tendencies towards violence which displayed "strong Hitleristic traits, and which grossly abused Afrikaner sentiments." He then challenged Treurnicht to disassociate himself from the AWB.

Terre'Blanche decided to act. De Klerk was to be the main speaker at a NP public meeting, intended to be in support of the NP candidate in one of the by-elections, Standerton, on January 13, 1988.

Much to organizers' surprise, the meeting was taken over by the AWB before it began, and speakers from the floor put it to De Klerk (who was on stage) that Terre'Blanche was physically present in the town and wished to take part in a debate with De Klerk over his allegations in the Sunday newspaper.

De Klerk refused to debate Terre'Blanche, and the crowd then created confusion for another hour. Then the entire town was struck by a power blackout which plunged the hall into darkness. Police were forced to fire tear gas to break up fistfights between NP and AWB supporters. Meeting chairman, Greyling Wentzel, then declared the meeting closed and for Nationalists only, causing half of the audience to get up and leave. They proceeded to a nearby hall where Terre'Blanche was waiting, and held an AWB meeting instead.

Resuming his address an hour later—still in the darkness—De Klerk again accused the AWB of "Hitler-type militancy" and appealed to Treurnicht to "control" the right wing. Needless to say, his appeals fell on deaf ears.

The biggest meeting ever held by the AWB was held on February 27, 1988 in the Skilpadsaal (Tortoise Hall) in the Pretoria show grounds. Called a "Majuba Day" celebration, the date was carefully selected as it was also the ninety-eighth anniversary of the battle of Majuba, where Boer forces had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Imperial British forces during the first Anglo-Boer War in 1881.

Advertised as a "volksaamtrek" (a people's gathering) the purpose of the meeting was to reaffirm the "Two Part Covenant" by representatives from all over the Orange Free State and Transvaal.

Prior to this the Two Part Covenant had been read out only at the Natal battleground of Blood River in 1987, and at Paardekraal in the same year. Now the AWB wanted as many people as possible from the Orange Free State and the Transvaal who may have missed the two earlier gatherings to partake in the covenant.

Months of intensive planning went into the meeting. Buses were hired, funds were raised, special posters and pamphlets were printed, and the meeting was extensively advertised in all parts of the two provinces.

Masses of people streamed into the huge hall on the Saturday morning of the meeting.

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Outside the hall an entire commando of horses was saddled up and a thirty-six man strong drill section of Aquila waited in platoon formation for Terre'Blanche to arrive. When he did arrive, they were called to attention and Terre'Blanche was able to inspect them as if in a regular military parade, providing the hordes of press photographers present with many rolls of dramatic photographic material.

The hall was filled with at least twelve thousand people by the time the meeting began. Television, newspaper, and radio teams from all over the world were in attendance and to everyone's amazement an SABC team also arrived to cover the event. Chairman of the meeting and deputy leader of the AWB, Jan Groenewald, spoke in English in his opening address, welcoming those "English speakers who have declared their solidarity with the AWB."

There was thunderous applause when a banner was hoisted by English-speaking AWB supporters—one an American immigrant— reading "P.W. (Botha) you have had it—the English are joining the AWB."

One of the largest rallies ever held by the AWB in the Pretoria showgrounds, February 1988. Attended by twelve thousand people, it was an impressive display of how the AWB had grown.

The horse commando then entered the hall, followed by the Aquila unit who put on a drill display for the crowd. A large ANC flag was hoisted and then burnt in dramatic fashion by

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Manie Maritz who came riding into the hall on a horse. The ANC flag burning, done as an act of defiance to that organization, had the crowd leaping to their feet in ecstasy. (The ANC itself later described the public burning of one of its flags as a "childish display of political immaturity.")

Manie Maritz burns the ANC flag at the AWB rally, February 1988.

An ANC spokesman rejected what he called the "AWB's description of itself as a liberation movement," saying Whites were not being oppressed in South Africa. "All the AWB is doing is protecting the ill-gotten wealth of a very small minority in the country," he said, adding that as far as he was concerned the only difference between the AWB and the NP was that the AWB displayed rabid intolerance while the NP camouflaged the same feelings.

The Two Part Covenant was then again read out and affirmed by the Tortoise hall crowd. In his speech Terre'Blanche claimed that at the end of the day a simple choice would face the nation—either to join the AWB or the ANC.

He also announced that he was going to take a petition to the state president at the seat of government in Pretoria, the Union Buildings. The petition called on the state president to grant

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the “Boers” their own country in the same way that the government had granted the various Black nations their autonomy under the grand apartheid system.

Thousands of pamphlets were handed out which had the petition to which Terre’Blanche referred printed on the back page. It was then read out by Reverend Chris Jooste to applause and unanimous acceptance by the crowd. The petition demanded that the “ground of the Boer Republics in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal be restored as exclusive and inalienable Boer territory” and that the “Afrikaner Boers in the Cape Province must be free to join their fellow citizens in the Boer Volkstaat in territory which must be set aside for this purpose.”

The audience was asked to complete the petition form by signing their names to it. The forms were then collected and loaded into a waiting vehicle. Terre’Blanche then announced that he was going to take the signed petition forms right then and there to the Union Buildings.

The crowd then spontaneously decided that they were going to accompany Terre’Blanche and virtually the entire hall emptied and went to get in their cars or buses. A long procession of over five kilometres was then formed through the streets of Pretoria, causing huge traffic jams.

Terre’Blanche arrived at the Union Buildings at the head of the convoy and handed the petition forms over to a very friendly police officer, who in turn promised that the documents would be given to the state president’s office. The procession was conducted in a very orderly manner, to the extent that the minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, was later to admit in parliament that no laws had been broken. The procession was so long that by the time the last of the convoy had arrived at the Buildings, Terre’Blanche had long since left. Many participants then sat down and relaxed in the building grounds, becoming photographic subjects for the foreign tourists who are always in evidence at the site who, intrigued by the flags, took many pictures of the event.

The reaction from the South African press was immediate. Editorials demanding the banning of the AWB and its emblem appeared, appeals were made for action against Aquila, and warnings of “Nuremburg type rallies” appeared once again.

The AWB was not harassed at all during its massive march to the Union Buildings, and Terre’Blanche himself was cordially received by a senior police officer present. This was in stark contrast with events the following Monday, when clergymen under the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu staged a march in Cape Town to the parliament buildings. Police then used considerable force in breaking up the left-wing march.

The lack of action against the AWB and the action against the clergymen provoked strong criticism from left-wing parties in parliament and elsewhere, who claimed that the police were proving their bias.

Then State President P.W. Botha replied to the petition in writing to Terre’Blanche the next month. “Following your latest petition I must again emphasize that the National Party was last year re-elected as governing party with a convincing majority to carry out its program of principles and policy,” Botha wrote. “There are thus, essential problems with your approach to the government, namely that you wish the government to carry out the policy of the AWB on your behalf. In the first place, the AWB has its own political party, the Blanke Volkstaat Party, through which it may seek a mandate for the implementation of its policy. Secondly, you claim that five members of the AWB are Members of Parliament under the banners of the Conservative Party.

Thirdly, the AWB itself in one of its policy pieces says the following: ‘You will have to buy the White land—nobody will give it to you’ (*Sweepslag*, 1983, page 13). If you accept that

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nobody will give it to you, then it does not make sense for you to approach the government with the demand that it should be given to you."

Botha then pointed out the division which existed in right-wing ranks over where a White state should be and questioned the AWB's right to speak on behalf of the entire "volk."

"You are creating a set of false expectations amongst your followers and are building up emotion around nebulous dreams which have little relation to the practical circumstances and demands of South Africa," Botha continued.

Reacting to the letter, AWB Press Secretary, P.W. Bingle, said the state president was "the last person on earth who could make such a statement (that the Volkstaat was not feasible) as he has in the past ten years given an independent state to each and every Black nation in the country. (This was a reference to the Black homelands policy.)

"The Afrikaner nation has the same rights as those nations to have their own country, and the AWB wants to know why Mr. Botha is discriminating against Afrikaners," Bingle said.

According to the "old" South African security legislation any outdoor public meeting except for bona fide sports gatherings required government permission to proceed. The AWB planned precisely such a mass open air gathering for Friday, March 25, 1988, at the HF Verwoerd stadium in Randfontein which was to round off an important by-election in that constituency the following week in which the NP was again fighting the CP.

Without warning the government announced on the Friday morning of the meeting that permission for the gathering had been refused. A telegram, sent from police headquarters to the district commandant of the West Rand police, ordered that policemen were to remove all posters advertising the meeting, but that they were to wear plain clothes so as to not let the public see that the police had been given instructions to interfere with the meeting.

Immediately AWB organizers went to the neighboring town of Krugersdorp, some sixty kilometers away, and rented that town's hall for a public meeting the same night. The SABC radio service, which had announced the cancellation of the meeting, was then requested by the AWB to announce the new venue, but declined to do so. Purely by word of mouth the change of venue was circulated and that evening the Krugersdorp Town Hall was packed to overflowing—an incredible feat in light of the events that day, the short notice of the venue, and the fact that no advertising was done for the meeting.

No reason was ever given for the effective banning of the meeting, and the Afrikaans newspapers did not even report that the original meeting had been banned and a new venue set up, preferring instead to ignore the drama completely. The CP won the following week's by-election with a vastly increased majority.

The AWB celebrated its official fifteenth birthday on June 25, 1988. The organization was at its all time high. Membership applications formed a steady stream into the AWB's post box and the movement seemed invincible. A special birthday party was held at the small East Rand town of Bapsfontein, the scene of many of Terre'Blanche's early meetings.

The event also marked the first public display of the AWB's flying wing, called the Goue Arende (Golden Eagles), which had as their leading members the Du Plessis family from Delmas, who had featured prominently in the 1982 arms trial.

The function, attended by some two thousand people, was marked by traditional Afrikaans sports, food, and bonhomie, interspersed with speeches. Terre'Blanche himself arrived on horseback and after inspecting an Aquila guard drawn up for him, gave one of his by now traditional pep talk speeches saying the "volk would take possession of its land within the foreseeable future."

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The year 1988 was, however, to be the start of a bad run for the AWB. It was directly after the fifteenth birthday function that the press secretary of the AWB, P.W. Bingle, was forced to resign from the movement. Bingle, a former HNP and CP member, had long been the subject of rumors and speculation that he was a homosexual. The night of the fifteenth birthday celebration Bingle took the son of one of the regional leaders of the AWB back to his Sunnyside, Pretoria, flat with him. What transpired inside the flat neither Bingle or the young man have ever revealed, but residents of the plush building were awaken in the early hours of the morning by the sounds of four gunshots coming from the flat.

Soon afterwards those residents who had got up to investigate the sounds, saw the young man running round the gardens of the block, clasping a towel and brandishing a pistol.

Confronted by the residents, he alleged that he had been sexually molested. Of Bingle there was however no sign, either inside or outside the flat. The young man claimed that Bingle had fled the flat naked. A charge of indecent assault was laid with the police, but the young man's father was persuaded to have the charge withdrawn provided that Bingle was sacked, which was what happened.

Few things better illustrated the diverse approaches to the South African question as the debate between two Afrikaners on opposite sides of the political fence—Dr. Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and Terre'Blanche in September 1988. Slabbert, a former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and initiator of contact between members of the White establishment and the ANC while that organization was still banned in South Africa, was also one of the co-founders of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), the organization which arranged the Dakar tour which the AWB almost managed to derail upon their return to Jan Smuts airport in 1987.

Terre'Blanche and Van Zyl Slabbert meet in debate at the University of Pretoria, September 1988.

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Almost three thousand people packed the University of Pretoria hall where the debate was held. Both men spoke for ten minutes on the topic “Where to with South Africa.” The theme of the meeting soon became an argument of opposing solutions for South Africa—integration versus partition.

“The problem with leftist liberals,” Terre’Blanche said, “is that they cannot count. They speak of a multiracial democracy, but you (the Whites) are the only ones who are democratic.”

Outlining his Volkstaat policy, Terre’Blanche said the AWB wanted to keep the power “our ancestors fought for so that our descendants will not be trampled upon. Every volk has a right to self determination in its own area. Fences between neighbors and borders between nations promote peace and friendship. We do not want to share power. We demand power; we demand a country for the Afrikaners.”

Slabbert remarked that he and Terre’Blanche had differing ideas on how to be an Afrikaner. “Mr. Terre’Blanche feels that he can only remain Afrikaans by being apart from other races, but I can only be an Afrikaner if I can be part of the community in my country,” Slabbert said. Delivering an impassioned plea for negotiation as the solution to South Africa’s problems, Slabbert said that he demanded to be allowed to strive for “peace and for an integrated, democratic South Africa where I can say with pride: `I am an African and an Afrikaner.’“

The contrast between the two thought directions was clear—the only thing the two men had in common was that they both spoke Afrikaans. No vote was taken at the end of the meeting, and so no winner could be decided upon. A vote however, would have shown an almost even split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom’s most conservative university student population.

October 1988 saw the for the first time in the history of South Africa municipal voting rights being extended to all races—albeit on separate voters’ rolls in order to choose local town and city councils.

The elections were also fought for the first time on an overtly political basis, as the government had announced that in terms of its reform program that power was going to be “devolved” down to local authorities to enable them to decide on such matters as residential area segregation, public facility segregation and a host of other politically loaded matters, all spelled out in the municipal election manifesto of the National Party.

The AWB enthusiastically threw itself into supporting the Conservative Party’s municipal election campaign. The municipal elections results saw more than one hundred local Transvaal authorities (out of a total of just less than 160) fall to the CP. A large number of other councils across the rest of the country also went CP, even in the traditionally liberal province of Natal.

By far the most well-known of these councils was the town council of Boksburg, which attracted world interest when it passed a motion reserving the use of its public facilities—including the lake in the middle of the town—for White use only.

The Boksburg Lake then became the focal point on the East Rand for violent racial clashes between AWB supporters and ANC supporting Coloureds and Blacks from the neighboring townships. The decision to re-introduce segregation at the facilities sparked off a local and international uproar, with local Coloured and Black residents initiating a year long boycott of shops in the town. The AWB was of course mixed up in the Boksburg drama.

The new CP mayor, Beyers de Klerk, caused a further uproar by attending an AWB Head Council meeting in January the following year dressed in khaki complete with AWB badges and proceeding to announce to waiting pressmen that the AWB was “far too liberal” for him. “I mean, they just want the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Northern Natal,” he said. “I want

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more than that. What about all the Boers in the Cape and elsewhere? You cannot just leave them."

Mayor De Klerk was a common sight at AWB meetings, and as late as mid 1989 was still attending AWB self defense classes in Boksburg and going on shooting exercises with the local AWB group at the Heidelberg army shooting grounds. In an inexplicable turnabout he eventually joined the National Party and served a term of office for that party as well.

The year 1988 was the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek in South Africa. As with everything else by this stage, the Afrikaans community was divided into two camps as to how to celebrate the event. The traditional Afrikaner cultural organization, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereeniginge (FAK—the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Unions), which had long since been won over to the side of the NP when the conservatives had lost control of the Broederbond, went ahead and arranged a symbolic ox wagon trek from Cape Town to Pretoria.

The conservative equivalent to the FAK, the Afrikaner Volkswag (AVW), also drew up its own celebration plans, which included several ox wagon treks to Pretoria from all parts of the country. The AV celebration was to last more than three years and was under the direct control of former Prime Minister Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's daughter, Anna Boshoff (wife of AVW leader Professor Carel Boshoff).

The AVW's motto for their trek—"Op Pad na ons Eie" (On the Road to our Own) compared to the FAK's version "Vorentoe Suid-Afrika" (Forward South Africa) sums up the split in vision. The FAK managed to win the first round by securing the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria as the venue for its service, while the AVW chose a Boer War battlefield site to the East of Pretoria, called Donkerhoek.

The AWB wagon, pulled by hand to the Donkerhoek festival.

The AWB, as a founder member organization of the AVW, played a large role in the celebrations. AWB stalwarts such as Manie Maritz even led some of the AV celebration symbolic treks across the country to Donkerhoek.

The AWB itself had a special full-sized wagon made which was pulled by hand from the Blood River Battle site to Donkerhoek—a distance of over seven hundred kilometers. For a large part of the distance the wagon was pulled by a women's team and a children's team, meant to symbolize the strength of the Boer nation.

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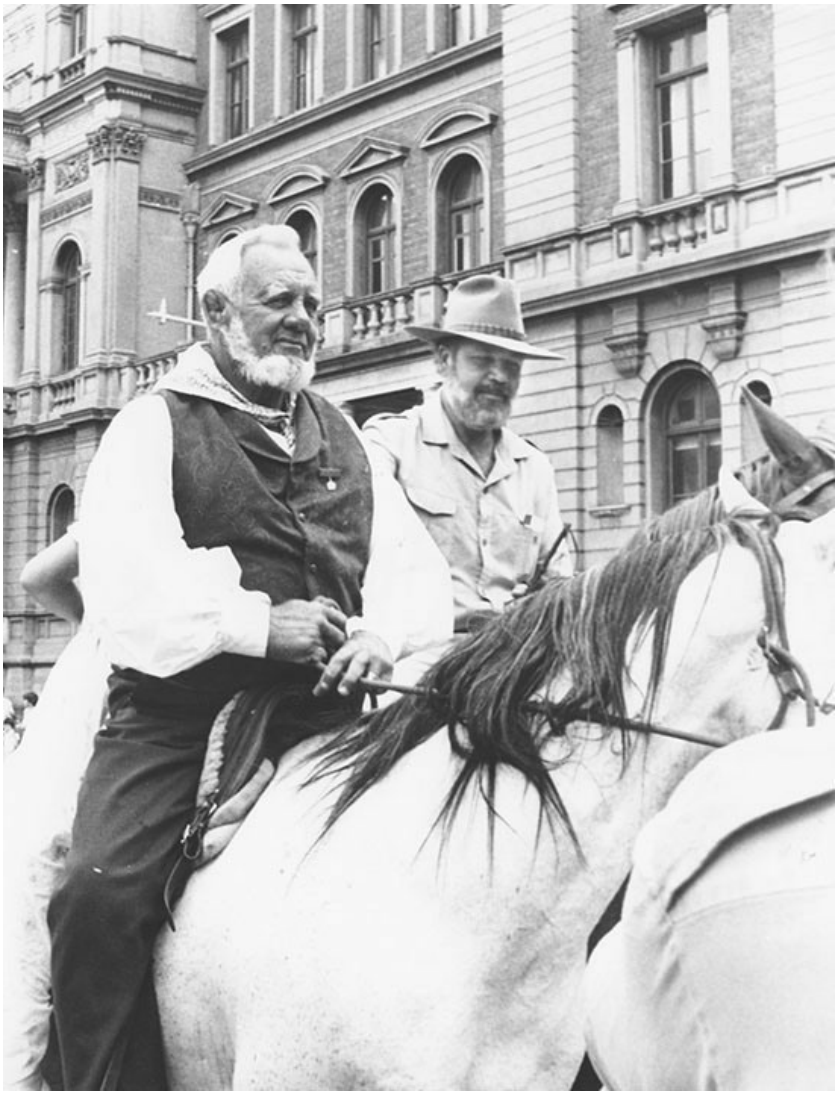
The AWB trek, which took more than two months to complete, was one of the few non-motorized wagons to travel to Donkerhoek—the official AV wagons all being symbolic and towed by motor vehicles. An AWB flag was hung across the rear of the wagon and an AVW banner reading “On the Road to our Own” was displayed prominently on the side. The wagon made Donkerhoek on time, and has ever since then remained a proud possession of the AWB, standing outside the AWB offices in a special shed in Ventersdorp.



Manie Maritz and Eugene Terre’Blanche take part in the procession around Church Square on their way to Donkerhoek.

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Ox wagons make their way round Church Square, Pretoria, as part of the preparations for the Donkerhoek gathering.

The AWB dominates the crowd at the Donkerhoek site.

On December 16, 1988 a huge right-wing crowd—estimated at over sixty thousand people—flocked to the Donkerhoek site, while only some seven thousand went to the Voortrekker Monument where the NP/FAK celebrations were held.

Although the list of speakers at the Donkerhoek gathering included CP leader Andries Treurnicht and AV chairman Professor Carel Boshoff, Terre'Blanche once again dominated the day in a replay of what happened at the right-wing gathering at the Voortrekker Monument on

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May 31, 1986.

When his arrival was announced over the loudspeaker system the huge crowd suddenly sprouted hundreds of AWB flags and started the traditional “AWB, AWB” chant. Along the surrounding hillsides huge banners with AWB logos and slogans also suddenly appeared, causing many onlookers to form the impression that the event was actually an AWB gathering. A large part of Terre’Blanche’s speech was in the form of an epic poem he had written describing the Battle of Blood River and the murders of the Boer women and children in Natal.

Much to the dismay of the other speakers, about a third of the crowd then proceeded to pack up and leave once Terre’Blanche had finished speaking.

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CHAPTER NINE: THE VOLKSTAAT

While the "Volkstaat" (*Peoples' State*) concept—that is, a nation state which is ethnically uniform, consisting only of Afrikaners—was always part of AWB philosophy from that organization's beginning, the proposed boundaries of such a state have changed considerably since the idea was first mooted.

Like the HNP from whence it sprang, the AWB originally viewed the entire country as "White man's land"—except of course for the already existing Black homelands, which had been given official status by the grand apartheid policy. The reasoning then was that the only further concession which could be made was to give the Cape Coloured population a homeland as well —if they wanted it. This was original HNP policy and was for a while punted by the Conservative Party as well.

Against that background, Terre'Blanche explained the original AWB policy in 1982 as the granting of a homeland to the Coloureds in the Western Cape and the recognition of the existing Black homelands inside South Africa with the chance of them being granted slightly more land. Blacks finding themselves in the Volkstaat would have their political rights restricted to their own states.

The Indians, however, could have no claim to land. "They would be lucky to remain in South Africa. They are not White. They are not Christians. They have a different culture, tradition and language. They are exploiting South Africa economically. Do you expect us to carve up a piece of land in Natal for this purpose—Voortrekker land?" asked Terre'Blanche.

The policy of regarding the entire country as a Volkstaat was only finally dropped in 1985, after a leading campaigner for the Afrikaans language and for the restoration of the pre-Boer war independent republics, Robert van Tonder, became involved with the AWB.

Van Tonder, the founder of the town of Randburg and a self-made millionaire, had long been running what was virtually a one man show calling for the restoration of the Boer republics divided from the rest of the country. He had in fact left the National Party as early as 1961 in order to pursue this idea.

His seminal book on the subject, *Boer State*, laid the basic idea. Van Tonder also occasionally produced a newspaper, *Die Stem*, which he agreed to give the AWB on a split costs basis. *Die Stem* became the official organ of the AWB until December 1986 when Van Tonder left the AWB in a clash over whether to turn to active parliamentary politics or not.

During the time that *Die Stem* was the official mouthpiece of the AWB, however, Van Tonder (who was editor) managed to implant the idea of the restoration of the Boer republics in AWB supporters. Thus it was in May 1985 that Terre'Blanche himself first announced at a public meeting in Nelspruit in the Transvaal that the AWB was now looking for only the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Northern Natal to be the Boer fatherland. The Cape and Southern Natal was for the first time specifically excluded.

When the Boer Republic idea began to draw more supporters as a result of his association with the AWB, Van Tonder started a "Boer State Committee" which was a body consisting of some senior Afrikaans academics (such as educationist Professor Alkmaar Swart who later became chairman of the AWB's Great Council as well) who had been taken with the concept.

Another group with basically the same idea called the "Transvaal Separatists" then started up under the leader ship of a Doctor Piet Cloete from Naboomspruit. A pamphlet issued by Cloete at the May 31, 1986, right-wing gathering at the Voortrekker Monument, calling for Boer State candidates to oppose the Conservative Party at the next general election, caused

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considerable concern in the ranks of the CP, and was wrongly attributed to the AWB by the National Party.

Van Tonder himself was all for direct action, and eventually clashed with Terre'Blanche over the latter's refusal to enter into active parliamentary politics in 1986.

"If we cannot come to an agreement with the Conservative Party (to work for the re-establishment of the Boer states) then we must found a new party," Van Tonder told Jan Groenewald at the time.

"In this manner Van Tonder said in 1986 that the CP should give ten seats to the AWB, and that Terre'Blanche himself should stand in Krugersdorp," said Groenewald, former deputy leader of the AWB.

"The idea was for both myself and professor Alkmaar Swart (Chairman of the AWB's Great Council) to get seats as well. Both Swart and I said we were not interested."

At the end of 1986, Van Tonder left the AWB in despair and started the Boerestaat Party, which although has never taken part in any elections, was able to attract one or two key AWB figures such as Piet Rudolph to its ranks.

The Boer State idea is a mixture of historical claims and the Volkstaat non-political party ideology as originally propounded by the AWB. An anonymous pamphlet issued in 1987 detailed the reasoning behind the whole concept. Entitled "Our Own Land," the pamphlet went into the historical reasoning behind the restoration of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics along with the Northern Natal section, known as "Vryheid" (Freedom) in Boer history.

Pointing out that the problem should be approached from a nationalistic point of view rather than race, the pamphlet said that the problem with a unitary state in South Africa would be one of competing nationalisms. The only way to prevent such a clash would be to give each nationalism a geographic area, the argument ran.

The claim to the territory is based on historical grounds, maintained the AWB proponents of a "Volks state." This is so because when the Great Trek occurred in South Africa, the trekkers did not steal any land from the native Black population, but rather settled in land which was previously unoccupied.

The accuracy of this historical interpretation can be questioned, although it is true that the Black tribes had decimated each other during a huge intertribal war called the "Difaquane" prior to the trekkers settling in the interior of the country.

The "Volks state" pamphlet takes up the story of how the interior was opened up: "As a result of the Difaquane, the trekkers found a largely deserted and ravaged land as they moved north, and their diaries are full of descriptions of scenes of burnt out Black kraals with bleached bones lying in the sun, silent evidence to the Black on Black war which had taken place several years previously and which had so deserted the land that no one was even left to bury the dead. The only numerically significant tribe remaining in the interior of the country were the Matabele. Mzilikazi, king of the Matabele, attacked a small advance Trekker party without warning or provocation, despite the fact that the Trekkers were at that stage many hundreds of kilometers from Matabele territory. This act of war led to one of the first battles of the Great Trek at Vegkop in 1836. The Matabele were defeated at this battle, and retreated Northwards. When the Boers launched a further offensive consisting of a nine day campaign, the Matabele fled over the Limpopo River into territory today called Zimbabwe, where they are today, forming part of that nation.

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The Volkstaat

Above: The "Boer State" concept which was proposed by Robert Van Tonder in his book "Volkstaat." This eventually became the official policy of the AWB, replacing the claim to the entire country (and South West Africa-(Namibia) as illustrated below on the front page of the AWB's official newsletter Sweepslag *in 1984.*

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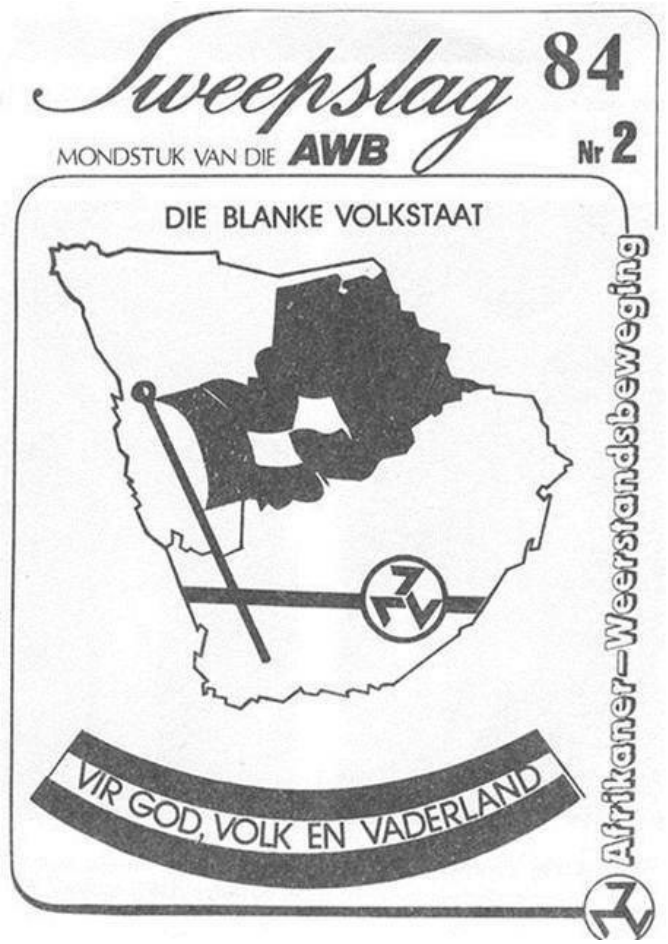

"A section of the Trekkers under the leadership of Piet Retief had in the meantime changed direction from the other trekkers, and had turned east long before reaching the present day Transvaal. Retief's party trekked over the Drakensberg (Dragon) mountains and had established temporary settlements in modern day Natal.

"The king of the Zulus at the time, Dingaan, undertook to provide the trekkers with land should they find and return some of his cattle that had been stolen from him by a lesser chief, one Siyonkella. Having recovered the cattle, Retief returned to Dingaan's kraal and signed a historic document with Dingaan, giving the Boers settling rights in Natal. Retief and his party were then murdered after having signed the agreement, and thereupon followed the massacre of Boer women and children at Weenen and Bloukrans, culminating in the battle of Blood River, where Dingaan's armies were finally defeated.

"The treaty signed between the Dingaan and Retief read as follows: 'Know all men by this that whereas Piet Retief, governor of the Dutch emigrant South Afrikaners has retaken my cattle which Siyonkella had stolen, which cattle the said Retief now delivers unto me. I, Dingaan, chief of the Zulus, do hereby certify and declare that I saw fit to ensign unto him, the said Retief, and his countrymen . . . the place called Port Natal (modern day Durban) together with all the land around, that is to say from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu rivers westward and from the sea to the North as far as the land may be useful and in my possession, which I did by this and give unto them for their everlasting property. "X" - the mark of the King Dingaan.'"

The document, written in English by a visiting missionary, contained Dingaan's mark (he was illiterate) as well as the signatures of Retief and his party. Retief and his men, tricked into

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leaving their firearms outside the kraal, were, immediately after signing the document, seized by Dingaan's men and taken to a hill outside the king's kraal where they were cruelly killed. The document was later found in Retief's pocket by another trekker who also found the bodies of the men on the hill.

"The importance of this document cannot be overemphasized," continued the Volkstaat pamphlet. "Apart from proof that the Trekkers did not want to 'steal' land from the Blacks and were prepared to negotiate in a civilized manner about it, the document is in effect a title deed to land in Natal.

"However, this was not the only time that the Boers were legally granted land in Natal. After ingaan's defeat, Mpande became king of the Zulus and confirmed the contents of the treaty signed between Retief and Dingaan. Mpande also entered into an alliance with the Boers, giving them further land rights.

"The British however again deemed it wise to step in and did so after the first Trekker republic had been established in Natal (on land legally obtained), with the result that Boer independence in that province lasted only four years.

"However not even the British could effectively control the continuous infighting amongst the Zulus, and by 1882 the unrest had reached an all time high. On the one side there were those Zulus who supported a chief by the name of Cetshawayo (this group being called the Usuthu), and on the other side those who supported the main rival chief Usibepu.

"On July 21, 1883, Cetshawayo was defeated at Ulundi, but still peace did not come to the troubled land, as those who remained fought over who should succeed Cetshawayo. Eventually the Usuthu asked the Boer Coenraad Meyer and his party to intervene to restore peace, which they did in a remarkably short time. In return for their services, Meyer and his men were given land, which was proclaimed to be the 'New Republic' in Natal in August 1884. The capital of the state was the town of Vryheid (Freedom), and the state soon became known as the republic of Vryheid. This state included a strip of coast of Northern Natal which includes the present day port of Richards Bay. In 1888 the Republic of Vryheid was incorporated into the Transvaal Republic, giving that state its first direct access to the sea.

"Having suffered great hardships in settling a totally barren country and slowly building it up, the trekkers in the present day Orange Free State and Transvaal received recognition from Britain as independent free countries at the Sand River Convention of 1852. Thus by 1885 there were three identifiable areas which had been legally, historically, and constitutionally settled by the Boers.

"The Matabele had vacated the Northern Transvaal into other open land after they had been defeated in a war which they had started. The fact that they resettled in new open land and have permanently left the Transvaal to form part of a new country excludes them from any original claims to the land.

"It is of supreme importance to realize that at no stage did the trekkers take land away from Blacks who were occupying it at the time of the trekkers' arrival—all land that was settled by Blacks before the Whites arrived was granted to them as their own territory—hence the resultant countries of Lesotho (for the Sotho people), Swaziland (for the Swazi people) and Botswana (formerly Bechunanaland—for the Tswana people)—all countries which were given their independence by the British

Empire, based on original land occupation rights.

"The Black peoples presently residing in the original Boer republics of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Northern Natal came into the area in search of food and work after it had

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been settled by Whites. The fact that the Boer Republics lost their independence after two wars with the British Empire does not change their historical validity."

This then was the basic historical and constitutional reasoning for the restoration of the Boer Republics. Along with the deep historical background comes a rejection of the unitary state of White South Africa as constituted in the union agreement of 1910. Central to this theme is an explicit rejection of the then South African national flag, anthem, and emblems of state, many of which were brought in by the National Party government.

The concept "Afrikaner" is also specifically rejected in favor of the word "Boer" in the belief that not all those who speak Afrikaans are "Boere," but only a few selected people who believe in the independence which the Boer Republics had before the Anglo-Boer war.

Thus emerged the concept of the "Boer Volkstaat"—a combination of the original AWB Volkstaat policy and what boils down to provincial separatism. At first the idea was resisted by the HNP hard-liners in the AWB, but when it became apparent that the strongest support for such a concept came from precisely the areas included in the state, and that AWB support was also strongest in those same areas, the concept slowly became part of AWB policy, to the extent that in 1988 it was officially written into the new program of principles.

"White Afrikaners have as much historical right to their own territory in a Boere Volkstaat as the Jews have to Israel and Black nations throughout Africa which had gained their freedom," Terre'Blanche told a Pretoria City Hall meeting in November 1985.

"By historical right it belongs to no-one else but the Boers, who have paid for the territory in the last century with the blood, sweat, and tears of our men, women, and children."

The change in attitude to the Indians and Coloureds which the change in geographical policy brought about was also highlighted by Terre'Blanche at the same meeting. "The Indians all belong in Natal and should be sent back there," he said. (Compare that to his statement less than three years previously that the Indians had no claim even to Natal.) He also dismissed the question of a Coloured homeland by saying that as far as the AWB was concerned, the Coloureds could take the entire Cape.

It is a truth that classical Verwoerdian apartheid carried the seed of its own destruction within it. That seed was the reliance on Black labor, leading to an economically integrated system over which the government tried to enforce social and constitutional separation.

Former Prime Minister Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's son, also named Hendrik, was the head of an organization known as the Oranjewerkers (Orange Workers) who realized this truth and as a result aimed for an independent White state totally non-reliant on Black labor or buying power. This ideal of self-sufficiency in a separate, smaller White state has obvious similarities to the AWB's Volkstaat philosophy, with the result that Verwoerd (Jr.) and Terre'Blanche often had consultations and meetings on strategy, although this contact diminished with time.

As to the role of the English-speaking Whites of South Africa in the Volkstaat, Terre'Blanche remarked in an address to students at the Rand Afrikaans University in October 1986 that "Afrikaners are the only recognized White nation in Africa, and English speakers have to either fall in with them or be destroyed by Africa. English South Africans are welcome to proselytize to the Afrikaans culture and support the concept of an independent Afrikaner state." The only official language of such a state would be Afrikaans.

While addressing a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon in January 1987, Terre'Blanche was asked by Jewish Progressive Party MP, Harry Schwarz, what rights he (Schwarz) as a person who was not an "Afrikaans speaking Christian" would have in the AWB's proposed Volkstaat which Terre'Blanche had just outlined to the club. "Whites in Africa can only survive

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as a volk," Terre'Blanche said. "It was always the Afrikaans-speaking Christian Boer who had won the land for Whites, who had fought at Blood River and had promised to commemorate the victory. There are two requirements for membership of the AWB and thus for rights in the Volkstaat—you have to be White and you have to believe in Jesus Christ. Israel is the homeland of the Jews. Will the Israelis ever share power with the Palestinians?"

Despite Terre'Blanche's evasive answer, it was also clear that non-Christian Whites would not have been given full political rights in an AWB Volkstaat.

Despite the cleverly thought out historical reasoning and arguments, the restoration of the old Boer Republics is for all practical purposes an impossible dream. The biggest problem with the demand to restore the old Boer republics is of course the Black population of millions who reside in the area.

They would not agree to such a dispensation, even if they were consulted (which the AWB had no intention of doing). There are carefully laid plans to increase the Boer population by birth allowances, housing allowances and immigration from "culturally assimilable countries," but the truth remains that the numbers will for ever be weighted against the Boer population. Then there is the problem of international recognition, which will never be forthcoming. The idea that Afrikaners may one day be independent in their own territory in South Africa seems very far off, if not downright impossible.

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CHAPTER TEN: PERSONAL SCANDALS

Less than two weeks after Terre'Blanche's successful appearance at the Donkerhoek celebrations, he and the AWB were to suffer a blow to their standing that would cripple the organization for most of 1989.

On the evening of Tuesday, December 27, 1988, at just before 8 p.m., the police were called to the Paardekraal monument site (the scene of the AWB's 1986 rally) in Krugersdorp after residents near the site had complained of a car breaking the gates to the monument and shots being fired inside the grounds. On their arrival the police found Terre'Blanche and a *Sunday Times* columnist, Miss Jani Allan. What happened that night at the monument has ever since been the source of endless speculation.

Jani Allan's association with Terre'Blanche started at the beginning of 1988, when she was instructed to go and interview Terre'Blanche for her column "Face to Face" which was one of the most popular columns in the *Sunday Times*, a newspaper which has the distinction of being the largest circulation newspaper in South Africa. A glowing interview then appeared in the January 31, 1988, edition of the paper.

Full of comments such as, "Look the man's no mimsy. To be honest, he's a hunk. Far more attractive than his telegenic image," and "You'd have to dead not to be impressed by his sincerity. But then, didn't Oscar Wilde say 'the worst vice of a fanatic is his sincerity? I'll have to think about that. Right now I've got to remind myself to breathe. I'm impaled on the blue flames of his blowtorch eyes, you see. . ..Eugene Terre'Blanche does not walk into a room: he takes occupation of it. Things shrink. The roomscape insidiously rearranges itself so that he becomes the focal point. . . .Konviction, Konfidence Kharisma (sic). They come at you like a yard of pump water. It's difficult to writhe out of the way."

It was clear that Terre'Blanche had made an impression on her.

From then on the two began seeing each other with increasing frequency, enjoying late night dinners at Pretoria restaurants, and by Allan's own admission, Terre'Blanche visiting her at her Sandton, Johannesburg flat. One of the more puzzling aspects to Allan's past is that she was married (and divorced from) a Johannesburg Jewish businessman, Gordon Schachat, and thus was an especially odd person to become friendly with the AWB.

Allan was an orphan who was raised by adoptive parents. She also was a classical pianist who taught English at Bryanston High School, and for a time, was also a photographic model before becoming a journalist.

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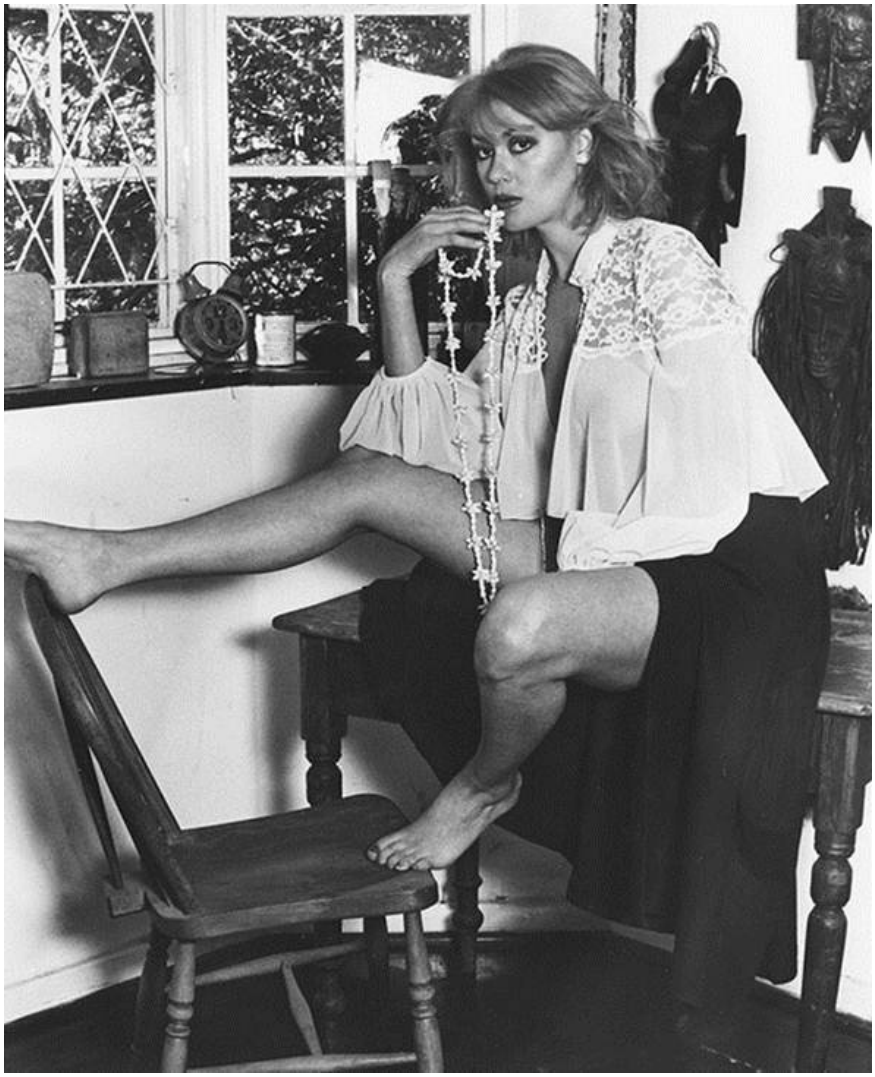

Jani Allan, in her modeling days.

The disparity in their backgrounds and occupations notwithstanding, Allan found that she had access to the AWB inner sanctum as no journalist ever before had been given. It was all the more remarkable because she was English, worked on an English newspaper (one of what Terre'Blanche had referred to as the "Jewish press") and thus was a most unlikely AWB supporter.

Invited to a Western Transvaal Aquila training camp in March 1988, Allan was able to produce an exclusive first-time-ever report of such a camp, along with copious color pictures of the men in training.

The article was very sympathetic to Aquila, ending by calling them "Helse Angels" (Helluva Angels) instead of "Hell's Angels."

"As the sergeant-majors bark they lock in combat, like human threshing machines . . . I witness the fact that the Aquila's dedication is absolute: He will die defending his cause," Allan wrote. "A vigilante force, this, born out of the volk's love of their hoofleier (leader) and their concern for his safety, but the man himself knows no fear.

"Afterwards I am cordially invited to join some of the Aquilas for a drink at the fire. At ease, they tell jokes—did you hear about when van der Merwe joined the army—and send each

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other up. They laugh a lot. The gemutlicheit, the camaraderie is extraordinary.

"You could be fooled into thinking that these (sic) are just an ordinary bunch of the boys having a drink together. Impeccably mannered and highly personable boys at that."

About this time the first rumors of a relationship between Allan and Terre'Blanche began to circulate in the rank and file of the AWB. At first no-one took the rumors too seriously, despite some Aquila members, who were at one stage guarding Terre'Blanche twenty-four hours a day, complaining that they had to wait outside her Sandton apartment while Terre'Blanche ostensibly visited the journalist.

Rumors of Terre'Blanche's ability to drink had long been circulating, but were always dismissed as part of a smear campaign against him. It was also widely rumored (and by some held as fact) that Allan herself was addicted to prescription medication. This rumor was later given substance by Terre'Blanche himself the following year, when he threatened to release affidavits he had from AWB members whom she had apparently approached in connection with a drug problem.

In any event, the two became such close friends that Allan was able to arrange interviews and stories on the AWB which no other journalist could get. The most notable of these stories was the interview which was published in the *Sunday Times* the Sunday after the "White Wolf" massacre on Strijdom Square in Pretoria. As it later transpired, the interview was specially arranged by Allan when she telephoned Terre'Blanche and arranged to meet him at the Voortrekker Monument restaurant (then owned by AWB chief secretary Willem Olivier). There the two sat in a corner of the restaurant and prepared the article, which neatly deflected blame for the massacre away from the AWB.

Rumors about Terre'Blanche's personal life had already reached a climax by the time of the Donkerhoek meeting. AWB deputy Leader Jan Groenewald had in fact urged Terre'Blanche not to take part in the celebrations, quoting security police sources (some of his old friends from the time when he had been a security policeman) that the AWB leader was being set up "for a big fall just before an election."

Terre'Blanche ignored the warnings. Then came the Paardekraal incident. At first Terre'Blanche and Allan remained silent on the issue, refusing to speak to anyone about it. Then Terre'Blanche came out with an explanation: He had gone to Paardekraal that night "to pose for the media."

Saying that after he had spoken at the Donkerhoek gathering a few days earlier about a stone formation in Namibia which had just collapsed (the 'finger of God' rock which did indeed collapse) and a commemorative stone piling at Paardekraal, a group of foreign journalists had asked him to pose at the Paardekraal site for them. He said he had made an appointment with the foreigners—Portuguese newsmen—and Allan for 8 p.m. that evening.

His denials did not kill the story and the newspapers were full of speculation over what had really transpired that night. Allan herself kept quiet until the first Sunday in 1989, when the *Sunday Times* published a front-page article by her entitled "The REAL story of me and ET and the SAP."

In this article Allan described how she had met up with Terre'Blanche, Dave Barnett (the head of Aquila, whom she called a "tame Aquila"), and a Portuguese TV crew at the Krugersdorp town hall. She and Terre'Blanche had travelled in Terre'Blanche's car to the Paardekraal site, while the TV crew had proceeded in their own car.

According to her version, Terre'Blanche had not damaged the lock of the gate, but had opened it as if it was "a Ming vase."

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The TV crew had in the meantime somehow disappeared, and then the police arrived and searched Terre'Blanche. Finding nothing, they had then left, whereupon she and Terre'Blanche had proceeded back to the town hall where they had again met up with the TV crew. Allan's story sounded fair, but there were important discrepancies in it. First, and most important, the AWB's chief of security she claimed was present, Dave Barnett, was in fact nowhere near Krugersdorp that evening.

Although Barnett himself later volunteered to go along with the story that he had been there "in order to protect the leader"—and in fact he did make this allegation to the press—another AWB executive member, advocate Chris Beyers, told him not to make such a statement under oath as he would be committing perjury. The night of the Paardekraal incident Barnett was at home in Vereeniging in bed with influenza. After the incident, he withdrew completely from AWB activities.

Secondly, the "Portuguese Television team" referred to was never traced, despite an intensive hunt for such a team. Thirdly, although Allan claimed Terre'Blanche had opened the gate "as if it was a Ming vase" in the *Sunday Times* article, in a later interview with the magazine Fair Lady she claimed that she had not even seen what Terre'Blanche was doing at the time.

Terre'Blanche also steadfastly denied that he had driven into the gate. He flatly denied that he and Allan were in any way involved beyond him giving her information to write a book on right-wing politics in South Africa, and that he had only had a few meals with her and those were always in the presence of someone else such as his chief secretary, Willem Olivier. He also backed up Allan's version of events.

The media had a feast on the incident, publishing articles entitled "The Beauty and the Beast" and other sensationalist eye-catching headlines.

However, no one expected what was to come next. The Monday after Allan's article appeared, four leading members of the AWB: deputy leader Jan Groenewald, chairman of the Great Council Alkmaar Swart, Manie Maritz, and Chris Jooste (who had all been prominent driving forces in the organization), delivered a short letter to Terre'Blanche's farm asking him to resign "in the interests of the AWB and the Afrikaner Volk." The letter also requested Terre'Blanche to make his resignation public within twenty-four hours of receiving the note.

The contents of the letter almost instantly found its way into the hands of the press. Terre'Blanche refused point-blank to accede to the demand, pointing out that Great Council members (as the four were) did not have the authority to compel his resignation. He summarily suspended all four men from the AWB.

Replying to Terre'Blanche's refusal to resign, the four rebels said they had asked him to resign in their personal capacities and not on behalf of the Great Council.

"Terre'Blanch e 's leadership is steering the AWB into a cul-desac that will cause its disbandment unless incisive action is taken," the four said in a joint statement, adding that Terre'Blanche's conduct at Paardekraal was contributory, but not the main reason for the four's decision to act.

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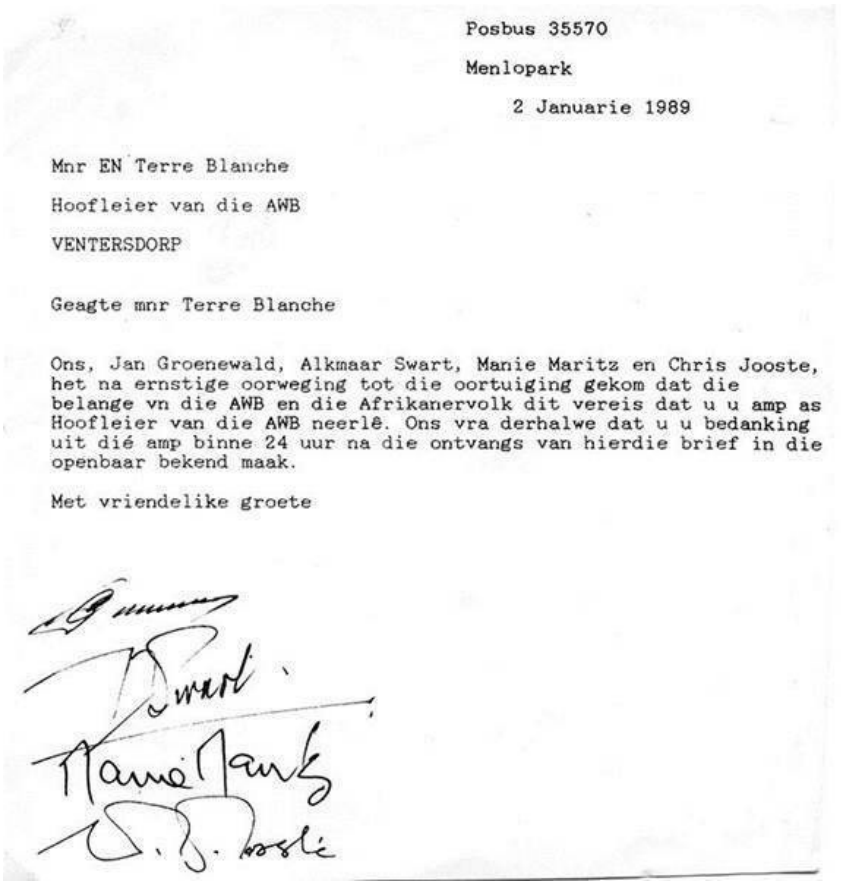

Posbus 35570

Menlopark

2 Januarie 1989

Mnr EN Terre Blanche

Hoofleier van die AWB

VENTERSDORP

Geagte mnr Terre Blanche

Ons, Jan Groenewald, Alkmaar Swart, Manie Maritz en Chris Jooste, het na ernstige oorweging tot die oortuiging gekom dat die belange vn die AWB en die Afrikanervolk dit vereis dat u u amp as Hoofleier van die AWB neerlê. Ons vra derhalwe dat u u bedanking uit dié amp binne 24 uur na die ontvangs van hierdie brief in die openbaar bekend maak.

Met vriendelike groete

A copy of the letter sent to Terre'Blanche which brought the crisis to a head. Signed by Jan Groenewald, Alkmaar Swart, Manie Maritz, and Chris Jooste, all members of the AWB's head council, it said "We have come to the conclusion that the interests of the AWB and the Afrikaner nation demands that you resign your position as leader of the AWB. We therefore ask that you make public your resignation within 24 hours of receipt of this letter."

Then Manie Maritz, a leading light in the AWB's activities from Pietersburg to Donkerhoek, launched a fierce personal attack on Terre'Blanche through *The Citizen* newspaper of January 4, 1990.

"The fact that Mr. Terre'Blanche had been caught by the police at the Paardekraal monument in the company of Jani Allan was only the last straw," Maritz said. "I want to tell them (the members of the AWB) what has been going on before their eyes for all these years. The organization has been embarrassed on too many occasions because of Mr. Terre'Blanche's drinking habits and his womanizing."

Maritz said his complaints stretched back to the 1986 unity meeting between right-wing groups which failed because Terre'Blanche had reneged on the agreement to enter the Voortrekker Monument amphitheater along with the other leaders, and had entered by himself later on.

Other "embarrassing incidents" recounted by Maritz included the non-enforcement of threats to the Labour Party (a Coloured political party inside South Africa) that the AWB would use force against them should they use the Tortoise Hall in Pretoria for their 1988 congress, and promises made by Terre'Blanche to the people of South West Africa which were not kept. Maritz also alleged that Terre'Blanche had been too drunk to address a Northern Cape public

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meeting during the 1988 Great Trek celebrations and that Terre'Blanche had been involved in several fistfights with AWB members over the wives of these members.

According to Maritz, Terre'Blanche had missed several speaking engagements because of the facial injuries he suffered during these fights.

Maritz called on Terre'Blanche to "return to God's path" for the "best of the volk. I will be happy to follow the leader if he returns to follow God's chosen path and again becomes the man he had always been in the past."

For his part Terre'Blanche slammed Maritz's revelations as untrue and defamatory and threatened to sue him unless an apology was forthcoming. Maritz never apologized, and he was never sued either.

Terre'Blanche also then announced that he was calling a special meeting of the AWB's Head Council where Maritz and the other complainants could present their cases in full.

The Head of Information and Publicity for the AWB, Dries Alberts, then issued a statement saying that a Head Council meeting had been called for Saturday, January 7, to discuss the whole matter.

Terre'Blanche responded to this move by announcing via the media that Alberts was no longer an AWB spokesman or member.

Alberts read of his suspension in the newspapers and reacted by saying that senior members of the AWB had tried for "the past 18 months" to persuade Terre'Blanche to mend his ways. "Several members of the AWB had spoken to Mr. Terre'Blanche about his drinking and womanizing, but Mr. Terre'Blanche had always denied the allegations," Alberts said. He maintained that many people had tried to talk to Terre'Blanche about the problems, but it had all been to no avail.

It was then announced that a Head Council meeting would be held on January 21, 1989, and that the four dissidents would have an opportunity to state their case then. Until then, the remaining AWB men agreed to keep quiet and not to issue any press statements.

Groenewald then announced his decision to resign from his position as deputy leader of the AWB (a decision which had little practical effect seeing as he had already been suspended) saying that he would not return to the AWB unless the leadership issue was resolved. Although only four leading members of the Great Council had resigned, the dissatisfaction with Terre'Blanche's behavior was not confined to them only.

Other senior members, most notably Willem Olivier and Chris Beyers, only agreed to stand by Terre'Blanche when the latter gave them an assurance that he would immediately break off all contact with Allan and would control his drinking, which he in any event claimed was not a problem. Both Beyers and Olivier were satisfied with Terre'Blanche's assurance, and went ahead to plan the Head Council meeting down to the last detail. Both men knew that there was more to the story than appeared in public: Olivier claimed that members of Terre'Blanche's family had on multiple occasions asked him to attempt to change the situation by using his influence with Terre'Blanche.

Martie Terre'Blanche, however, put on a brave face to the public, telling the press that she stood by her husband and rejected all insinuations that he was a heavy drinker and womanizer. She said that she knew Allan very well, and found her to be a "lovely person with a lively personality. She is a highly civilized person. I have met her on a number of occasions and she has been to our home."

Olivier claimed however that Martie had in fact said to him that if she had to leave her husband "he would become a tramp. I cannot leave him. She (Allan) is only interested in him

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because of his image. When he loses that she will drop him and then where will he be?"

Another former AWB organizer, Andre Schoeman, said he had been expelled from the AWB after trying to do something about a fistfight in which Terre'Blanche was involved in 1986 in Nelspruit which had led to the resignation of two prominent AWB men. (There were rumors of an early morning incident in Nelspruit where a farmer had allegedly caught Terre'Blanche in a compromising situation with his wife.)

Piet Rudolph, an AWB member from early times, also got in on the Terre'Blanche bashing act and said he had resigned in disgust over the tolerance of homosexual practices in AWB ranks—apparently referring specifically to former press secretary P.W. Bingle.

Rudolph also claimed that there were financial irregularities in the AWB and called on the Head Council to investigate the way in which money was being spent.

The four rebels then gave notice that they would not be attending the Head Council meeting, issuing a statement saying the meeting had been called in a disorderly and unconstitutional manner. Written invitations were however sent to the four men, which, dated January 10, 1989, gave them ample warning of the date, time, and place of the meeting.

The letters also specified that complaints against Terre'Blanche had to be put in writing twenty-four hours before the meeting. No written complaints were received by the AWB.

The resultant Head Council meeting on January 21, was, according to former deputy leader Jan Groenewald, a "set up. Only 30 burgerrade (local AWB constituency structures) had been registered at the previous year's compulsory reorganization meetings," said Groenewald. "It was therefore impossible for the Head Council to consist of as many people as it did on that day. He (Terre'Blanche) brought in lots of outsiders who were not members of the Head Council in order to make up the numbers."

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At the height of the crisis, Terre'Blanche issued this publicity photograph of himself and his wife Martie, in an effort to dispel rumors of his alleged affair with Jani Allan.

About six hundred people packed the small Tienie Denyschen hall in Pretoria North on January 21. The only dissenters were Dries Alberts and Andre Schoeman, who were both kept at bay outside the gates of the grounds where the meeting was held.

Wheelchair-bound Alberts, who managed to temporarily gain entrance, was ejected and a letter he had drawn up to submit to Terre'Blanche was initially not accepted. Later when it was admitted, its bearer Francois Jooste was himself expelled from the meeting, even though he was the former Stormvalke, Blitsvalke, Wit Wag, and Brandwag leader.

The grounds themselves were filled with uniformed Aquila men, including the chief trainer, an English expatriate, who was armed with an American AR 15 automatic rifle.

Sweating pressmen were kept waiting outside until the council came to its decision. About two hundred policemen were also present but kept a low profile.

Terre'Blanche's speech, taken down on tape, proved to be a real eye-opener and cast a shadow between Allan and her employers. In his speech Terre'Blanche claimed that Allan had used her position at the *Sunday Times* to "smuggle stories" into the newspaper which had "saved" the AWB. He referred in particular to the article she had written on Aquila and the one following the Strijdom Square shootings. Insisting that the rebels had political reasons for requesting his resignation, Terre'Blanche said there had been serious differences of principle in the executive over the matter of contesting seats in parliament and over the desirability of recruiting working-class people into the AWB—an allegation which Groenewald later dismissed.

With the four main dissenters not even present, and the only other three physically

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removed, the council gave Terre'Blanche its unanimous support as leader of the AWB.

The press men, with the exception of reporters from the *Sunday Times* and *Beeld* newspapers, were then allowed into the hall and given a short speech by Terre'Blanche in which he predicted the rise of the "Third Boer Republic."

Terre'Blanche then left the meeting in a motor convoy, almost knocking down the still protesting Dries Alberts who had remained outside the grounds.

The fact that a statement had already been prepared and duplicated for the waiting press was proof enough that the whole meeting had been carefully arranged to give a much needed show of solidarity and unity within the movement. However, this unity proved to be short-lived. Immediately following the Head Council meeting a large number of AWB branches disbanded in protest, the AWB charity feeding scheme almost came to a standstill (as the leading lights in it switched to the rebels' new movement), and the AWB was hit by a number of resignations.

Within two months, the two men closest to Terre'Blanche, Olivier and Beyers, had left their positions in the AWB after they had written a letter to Terre'Blanche asking him to undergo rehabilitation for an alcohol problem and also reminding him of his promise to them prior to the Head Council meeting.

"The truth must come out," said a disappointed Olivier. "I am sad to say that all the rumors that have been circulated about Mr. Terre'Blanche's personal problems, in particular his alcohol problem and an affair with *Sunday Times* columnist Miss Jani Allan, are, for the greatest part true."

Saying that Terre'Blanche's "drinking problem" dated back several years already, Olivier said it had always been carefully concealed from the outside. He said it had been steadily getting worse, even though he at one stage tried to control it by being constantly with him while he was on his speaking tours.

"Once when I knew he was working late at the offices in Pretoria, I invited him to my house for dinner. He turned the offer down, saying he was too busy with work, but then invited me into town to join him for dinner at a restaurant in Sunnyside. I did not think anything strange of this, and agreed to meet him at the (AWB) office. When I got there she (Allan) was there as well. An open whisky bottle was standing on the desk and both of them had drinks in their hands. I was naturally very shocked and surprised.

"Terre'Blanche then told me that Allan was writing a book about him, and that she had asked him to tell her about himself. `I can't tell her about myself,' Terre'Blanche said to me," continued Olivier. "`You tell her about me.' I was somewhat taken aback, but nonetheless accompanied them to a restaurant, where I was now supposed to tell Allan all about him. However the whole evening they spent talking about nothing in particular, and she never asked me or him one question about himself. The whole incident upset me very much."

Olivier also alleged that Terre'Blanche's mother, brother, and wife had complained to him about their famous family member's drinking habits. "I tried to speak to Terre'Blanche several times about his problem, but he always denied that he had a drinking problem, even though I and many others who were close to him knew this was not the case," said Olivier.

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Terre'Blanche's car arrives at the Tiene Denyschen hall in Pretoria North, to face down the allegations of the scandal with Jani Allan.

Terre'Blanche addresses the AWB meeting in the Tiene Denyschen hall, with AWB secretary general Willie Olivier to his left. Olivier was later to leave the AWB, complaining that his efforts to help Terre'Blanche over the Allan scandal had been in vain.

Both Beyers and Olivier had met with Terre'Blanche on January 17, and had put forward various allegations to him which included the excessive use of alcohol, financial mismanagement, and the alleged relationship with Allan.

After Terre'Blanche had under oath given the two men the assurance that he would stop drinking and immediately end the relationship with Allan, they agreed to continue supporting him and then arranged the Head Council meeting.

"To our great disappointment, Terre'Blanche carried on exactly as before and reneged on

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all his promises to us," Olivier said. "He went straight back to that woman."

Both men once again approached Terre'Blanche over his personal lifestyle, and he again denied the allegations.

Olivier then decided to inform the Aquila leaders of the true facts of the situation, and called a meeting of the top structure of the unit on Saturday, February 25, 1989, for this purpose. Someone at the meeting immediately informed Terre'Blanche of the contents of the discussion, and the following Tuesday Olivier received a letter from Terre'Blanche saying that the Aquila unit was no longer required at AWB meetings and that the allegations made at the previous Saturday's Aquila meeting were treasonable and scandalous.

The following Monday, March 6, 1989, Terre'Blanche was sent a registered letter from Olivier and Beyers saying that the request for the withdrawal of Aquila from AWB meetings had been noted. The letter also reminded Terre'Blanche that Aquila was in fact separate from the AWB and under the sole control of Olivier. Any attempt to launch a new unit under the same name would be met with legal steps to protect Olivier's interests, the letter said, finishing with an appeal to Terre'Blanche to take steps to curb his drinking problem, and for him to grant an interview to Olivier and a deputation of Aquila leaders.

The letter was delivered while Terre'Blanche was addressing meetings in the Cape Province, and was never answered. It was at one of these Cape meetings in the town of Swellendam that Terre'Blanche announced that Aquila was "running amok" and so he was forming a new unit under the command of retired police Brigadier T.J. Swanepoel.

Shortly after this both Beyers and Olivier left their posts in the AWB and thus came the end to the official relationship between the AWB and Aquila.

The next round in the Paardekraal saga came with the decision of the attorney general of the Transvaal to prosecute Terre'Blanche in the Krugersdorp magistrate's court on two charges: Malicious damage to property (the gates of the monument grounds, which the state alleged Terre'Blanche had damaged when he drove his car into them) and crimen injuria (laid by one of the policemen who attended the scene who alleged that Terre'Blanche had said "F. . k you" to him).

The court case began in the middle of April 1989. The first day of the case both the involved parties appeared—Terre'Blanche and Allan (who looked particularly pale and nervous, hiding behind large dark sunglasses and ushered around by her editor Tertius Myburgh) plus the damaged gates themselves, which had been removed and brought into court as evidence.

Terre'Blanche was represented in court by advocate Johan Rossouw, AWB founder member and the man originally asked to lead the AWB.

Allan did not appear again during the case, which was, after a short session and postponement, finally resumed on May 8, 1989.

Amongst the first to appear as state witnesses were the two eyewitnesses who claimed to have seen Terre'Blanche's car smash into the gates the evening of the incident. They were a Patrick Kearney and his daughter, who took the stand a day apart.

What initially appeared to be a strong state case against Terre'Blanche then suddenly began to fall apart under Rossouw's incisive cross questioning. Miss Kearney managed to contradict virtually everything her father had said with relation to time, distance, lighting and the alleged actions of the two people. Both also managed to contradict themselves several times during their testimony.

Miss Kearney eventually burst into tears while Terre'Blanche stared impassively on and she herself asked that all her evidence be withdrawn. Mr. Kearney said he had inspected the

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locks of the grounds after the incident and found them to be undamaged, while the state had brought in as evidence a severely damaged lock which it claimed was the same lock Kearney had inspected.

A damage estimator was then called and he testified that the damage to the gates could not be reconciled with the damage to Terre'Blanche's car. The only damage to Terre'Blanche's car was in fact on the right-hand side which was totally incompatible with the evidence that the vehicle had rammed the gates. Terre'Blanche's defense team had also managed to find minutes from a monument controlling body meeting dating from more than a year previously which reported the damage—absolute proof that at least that allegation against Terre'Blanche was untrue.

The two policemen who attended the scene, constables Page and Mitchell, then testified. (Page was the one who had laid the crimen injuria charge.) Their evidence provided for some shocks: they said they had been called to the scene and had found a BMW vehicle parked under some trees in the monument grounds and that a woman had been sitting on a blanket behind the vehicle, holding a soft drink can in her hand. A man, whom they did not recognize, was walking around holding a glass of what appeared to be alcohol.

According to the two policemen, the man was staggering, unable to talk coherently and appeared to be drunk. They then searched the man for a weapon (claiming to have heard shots being fired), as well as the vehicle. The only thing they found in the car was a three quarter full bottle with a whisky label on it in the trunk.

Rossouw said evidence would later be presented that the bottle did not contain alcohol, but rather cold tea, an assertion that could not be disproved as the policemen had not had the substance tested.

Making a fatal mistake, the policemen said they had only recognized who they were dealing with when they saw Terre'Blanche's name in his checkbook. Sensing the opportunity, Rossouw cross questioned the policeman—was he sure that the man's full names were in the checkbook? Yes, came the reply, 'Eugene Terre'Blanche.'

Rossouw pointed out that this was impossible as all banks print only the initials and surnames of their clients in their checkbooks. The young policeman was stunned, and then admitted that he "must be wrong"— a deadly admission to make in court.

Then came the biggest shock of the trial—the state announced that its chief witness, Jani Allan, would no longer be called and was being made available to the defense. The state's case grew weaker and weaker, causing Rossouw to lodge an official application before the court asking for the charges to be withdrawn.

Pointing out the contradictions in the evidence already given, Rossouw said even the crimen injuria charge was suspicious. Pointing out that the original investigation was started on December 28, 1988, and that the crimen injuria charges were only laid some three months later, on March 24, 1989, Rossouw questioned whether there was not perhaps some political motive behind the charge.

The contradictions between Miss Kearney and Mr. Kearney were of such a nature that "it is our submission that both of the two's (evidence) is completely unreliable, indeed if not completely false. The contradictions between Page and Mitchell are also of such a nature that the court is obliged in terms of (a number of previous court cases were mentioned here by Rossouw) to discharge the accused."

The magistrate agreed with Rossouw, throwing the case out on May 10 without one defense witness having been called. "The state's case rests on unreliable and contradictory

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evidence and there is no acceptable evidence to support the charges," said magistrate Van Niekerk. "I therefore find Eugene Terre'Blanche not guilty and unconditionally discharge him."

The court room, which had been packed each day with about one hundred AWB supporters, erupted into applause. Terre'Blanche then held an impromptu march through the main street of Krugersdorp, surrounded by a team of uniformed AWB men. Addressing a press conference a few minutes later, Terre'Blanche, with Johannesburg AWB leader Leonard Veenendaal standing directly behind him, said he hoped this would be the last he would hear of the Paardekraal incident. It would however, continue to plague him for another few months.

Terre'Blanche himself dismissed the whole case as a plot to discredit him. Whatever the truth, it cannot be denied that the AWB leader, against all expectations (including that of his former legal advisor, Chris Beyers, who had told him to pay the admission of guilt fine and to get it finished with as little publicity as possible), managed to pull off a victory in the face of what seemed overpowering odds, even if a few rumors continued to fly around.

One of these rumors was that Allan had in fact fired the shots which people living around the site had claimed to hear, and that the gun she had used was Terre'Blanche's. The rumors also alleged that she had hidden the gun under her dress when the police arrived. This of course remained a rumor, and could never be proved.

In an interview with the *Sunday Star* newspaper on May 14, 1989, Terre'Blanche suddenly claimed that there was "never any question of a Portuguese television team" joining him and Allan at the monument. He said that the "misunderstanding" had arisen because a "Portuguese newspaper photographer and two friends were on their way there."

Terre'Blanche did not seem to realize that this statement flew directly in the face of Allan's detailed description of the TV team on the front page of the *Sunday Times* at the beginning of that year. No one noticed the slip, and the whole issue seemed to die away of its own accord—until a bomb went off outside Allan's flat on the evening of Friday, July 14, 1989.

A terrified Allan then told her editor that Terre'Blanche had been plaguing her for quite some time. According to Allan, Terre'Blanche arrived outside her door on the evening of June 26, 1989. He had, claimed Allan, been drinking and had hammered at her door and asked to be let in. She had kept quiet and refused to answer. She alleged that he had then fallen asleep in the corridor and had spent the night there. In the morning she had to step over him to get out of her door.

Terre'Blanche addressed a meeting in the Johannesburg suburb of Alberton the next night, and he did appear to be very tired, cutting his speech short to only twenty-five minutes and excusing himself claiming that he had a cold. Subsequently, lawyers acting on her behalf had sent a note to Terre'Blanche threatening action should he not leave her alone. Allan claimed this letter had no effect.

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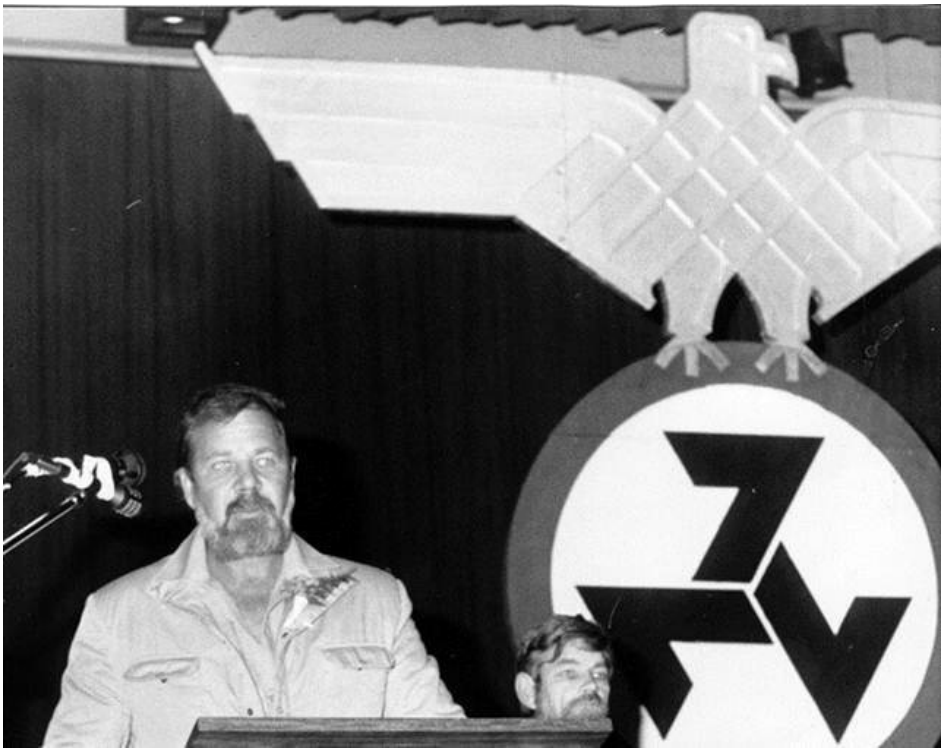

A tired looking Terre'Blanche addresses a public meeting in Alberton, south of Johannesburg, the night after he allegedly slept outside Jani Allan's door - on the doorstep, as claimed by Allan herself in court.

"In the latest incident a bomb went off in the early hours of Friday morning," read a front page story in the *Sunday Times* of July 16, 1989. ". . . (S)hortly before the explosion two men in khaki hammered on the door of Miss Allan's flat. She did not open the door, but through the peephole spotted two figures she could not identify," the article continued.

In a carefully written article which appeared in the *Sunday Times* a week later, Allan said she had had enough of Terre'Blanche and hoped that the latest revelations would chase him away permanently.

Terre'Blanche remained quiet on the allegation for two weeks, when all of a sudden he hit back with a number of allegations of his own. Denying that he ever slept outside Allan's doorstep, Terre'Blanche claimed that in fact it had been Allan who had "pestered" him with telephone calls to such an extent that he had instructed his receptionist, Mrs. Marie Smit, not to put any calls from Allan through to him.

He repeated his allegations that Allan was writing a book on the AWB and had been offered R60,000 for it. He said she had also offered to pay over R20,000 of the money to the AWB for its funds.

Terre'Blanche said that after the unfavorable publicity surrounding the Paardekraal incident he had decided not to go ahead with the book project and had told her so, which had caused her to make the vindictive allegations against him. He also dismissed the allegation that he had slept outside her door as the "biggest insult anyone has ever made against me."

The very public and bitter battle between Allan and Terre'Blanche continued the next weekend when the *Sunday Times*, at the insistence of the editor Myburg—and in spite of warnings to Allan from security police sources, published what was claimed to be tape recordings made on Allan's telephone answering machine by Terre'Blanche over a period of

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several months.

A full page of often incoherent transcripts were published, in which the person calling Allan referred to himself as “muchacho” and her as “darlingkie” (an Afrikaans term of endearment meaning, literally, ‘small darling.’) Allan had left for London the week before the tapes were published—for her own safety, as it turned out later. The article accompanying the transcripts included a denial by Allan that she had been offered R60,000 by a London publisher for a book. She said a South African publisher had offered her a much smaller amount, which she had turned down and had in any event never discussed with Terre’Blanche.

The AWB head office issued a tersely worded denial that the tapes were genuine, while Terre’Blanche’s long-suffering wife Martie yet again came to the defense of her husband. She issued a press statement denying the allegations and said that she and her husband would simply ignore everything. Terre’Blanche himself remained quiet on the tapes, referring only broadly to the whole Allan affair during his public meetings during that period, which were marked by a dramatically reduced audience turnout.

Once more the issue seemed to fade in the background, but there was to be two more exchanges between the two. In an interview published in the *Fair Lady* magazine in December 1989, Allan said she had once hit Terre’Blanche with a horsewhip in front of his wife after he had started “blubbering and bawling” in her flat the night after the Paardekraal incident. She also dismissed as preposterous allegations of a sexual relationship with Terre’Blanche, adding insult to injury by calling him “fat.”

Martie Terre’Blanche again issued a statement denying Allan’s story. Shortly thereafter Terre’Blanche announced in public that if Allan did not stop with her public allegations he would make public sworn statements from AWB personnel which would show that she had approached them for help in connection with a prescription drug addiction problem which she had.

For a while after this the whole issue faded away until 1992 when Allan sued Channel Four television in Great Britain for alleging in a documentary on the AWB that she had had a relationship with Terre’Blanche.The sensational court case which followed was marked by a number of astonishing allegations by Allan’s former flat mate—including one that she had seen Allan having intercourse with someone who could have been Terre’Blanche, while Aquila guards looked on.

A former AWB employee, Kays Smit, also testified for Channel Four that he and his wife Marie, had participated in drunken dancing parties with Terre’Blanche and Allan in Pretoria and that once senior AWB men had to fetch Terre’Blanche from Allan’s flat where he had fallen asleep in a drunken coma wearing only green underpants “with holes in them.”

Despite the obviously exaggerated nature of many of the allegations, Allan lost the court case, resulting in a fresh welter of publicity on the matter.

In reviewing the whole affair, it must be said in Terre’Blanche’s favor that it is clear that many of the allegations made against him have been for political or personal gain rather than in a pursuit of truth. Even the policemen who “caught” him and Allan at Paardekraal were effectively shown in court to be unreliable witnesses.

How much of the story is sheer gossip mongering and how much is truth will remain the exclusive secret of only two people—Allan and Terre’Blanche.

The AWB of course claimed that the entire affair was a setup designed to destroy that organization. If it was so, it was a clever plan which ultimately took its toll on the AWB.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN: A NEW STRATEGY

It took a few months for Terre'Blanche to once again get a grip on the AWB following the Jani Allan crisis of early 1989. Fighting to restore his image, he set about a series of public meetings countrywide, and amazingly enough, it soon appeared as if the rank and file AWBs had forgiven him or simply did not believe any of the stories.

The first of these meetings started as early as February 7, 1989, in the Northern Cape town of Upington. There, despite all the negative publicity, over 250 people attended the meeting–a remarkable turnout for that sparsely populated area. Then a meeting on February 21 in the Boksburg town hall saw a large turnout and further meetings in Swellendam, Oudtshoorn, and Port Elizabeth in the Cape showed that the AWB was still capable of pulling large audiences.

AWB activities expanded to the extent that by May a new fulltime organizer, Jan Meyer, a former fireman, had been appointed. Meyer had been worked out of his post in the Uitenhage (Eastern Cape) fire station after he had refused to take part in multiracial fire drill instruction courses. Meyer was to be arrested by the police in May 1990 in connection with a bomb attack in Pretoria as part of a right-wing terror campaign that year.

Further proof of the AWB's drawing power came with a large AWB rally and protest march in the Western Transvaal town of Klerksdorp on March 14, 1990, which drew over seven thousand people.

Speaking (for the first time in the Cape Town city hall) to a two thousand strong Cape audience on May 15, 1989, Terre'Blanche gave the first hint of what he had planned next: "It has never been the policy of the AWB to take part in parliamentary politics, but the closer I get to the parliament (building) the more I feel like it."

The following day, while still in Cape Town, Terre'Blanche had an interview with Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht in the latter's offices in the parliamentary building. There in the privacy of the office of the leader of the opposition, Terre'Blanche spelled out his demand: he must be given the seat of Krugersdorp to contest against the National Party in the September 1989 elections.

The Krugersdorp seat had been retained by the National Party against the Conservative Party with a tiny fifty-five vote majority in the 1987 election, and looked set to be won by the CP at the next election.

Treurnicht replied that he would first have to consult the party executive before making any decision and promised that he would inform Terre'Blanche as soon as a decision had been reached. Terre'Blanche then left, apparently hoping that Treurnicht would accede to his request.

The letter that Treurnicht wrote to Terre'Blanche the same day was to douse his enthusiasm. In it Treurnicht wrote that he could not accede to Terre'Blanche's request as CP candidates had already been named and the party was now "well in gear." Treurnicht also reminded Terre'Blanche that the AWB had always undertaken to remain outside party politics and that the CP would appreciate it if he kept to that agreement.

Terre'Blanche was somewhat taken aback by the outright refusal of the CP to stand back for him in Krugersdorp. He then began casting his eye wider and the next obvious choice appeared to be the seat of Rustenburg. Rustenburg was one of the first seats that had nearly fallen to the HNP way back in 1979. In 1987 the NP candidate had won by 816 votes when the right-wing vote had been split between an HNP and a CP candidate. The number of votes for the two rightwing parties together exceeded the NP by 918 votes.

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Answering Treurnicht in a strange undated and unsigned letter, Terre'Blanche put his case very clearly, including some eye raising remarks about the HNP and subtly threatening Treurnicht and the CP with a withdrawal of AWB support should he not be given a seat to contest. Stating that he could not understand why the CP would turn down his request for a seat, Terre'Blanche claimed that he had given the CP all the advantage of his work without ever asking anything in return.

He also pointed out that the strong standpoint which he had taken during the 1987 election to support the CP had "finished off the HNP." He agreed that in the past he had said that he would keep out of parliamentary politics, but now the times had changed and he had to adapt himself to the differing circumstances.

"Experience has taught me that your refusal in respect of this one seat could reach the ears of the press. The shock wave, when the press sends this information out in twisted language will reverberate through the ranks of the AWB and I doubt whether after that news they will have enthusiasm to propagate the party which I supported," Terre'Blanche wrote.

"If the press should report that you have given me the cold shoulder then our unity and cooperation will have been destroyed in one day. In all fairness I am of the opinion that a situation similar to that during the OB (Ossewabrandwag) years would then occur, which would be disastrous for us." (A similar fight between the National Party and the Ossewabrandwag in the 1939–1945 war years had impeded the then NP's electoral progress.)

The fact did not seem to bother him that Terre'Blanche himself had only four months earlier told the AWB head council meeting that the real reason why former deputy leader Jan Groenewald had wanted to get him out of the movement was because he (Groenewald) wanted to stand for parliament and that Terre'Blanche had said no.

The demand for a seat also flew directly in the face of stated AWB policy (the "divisiveness of party politics") but that also he conveniently overlooked.

Treurnicht sent a curt reply to Terre'Blanche on May 25, saying that he had taken note of the letter but that he stood by his earlier position. Threats notwithstanding, news of the exchanges and demands did not leak out to the press, who never came to hear of the demand for Krugersdorp.

Terre'Blanche, however, decided that he was going to stand in Rustenburg, and made the announcement at a dramatic meeting in the Rustenburg town hall on June 15. Although the audience at the meeting went delirious with the news, it was not quite so warmly received in other quarters.

In a front page story in the CP newspaper, *The Patriot*, of June 23, 1989, a story was run entitled "Reconsider, Eugene!" The article was written by former AWB leaders, Advocate Chris Beyers and Willem Olivier, and consisted of a dressing down of Terre'Blanche for breaking his former promises not to become involved in party politics and also accusing him of breaking Afrikaner unity.

Terre'Blanche nonetheless persisted with his decision to stand in Rustenburg, even though senior legal opinion was that he did not qualify to be able to be nominated as a candidate as he was still serving a suspended sentence for the arms conviction of 1983 and the law prohibited persons serving a sentence from being candidates until five years had elapsed since the ending of the sentence.

Whatever the legal situation, the CP was determined not to withdraw any of its candidates in favor of Terre'Blanche, with CP officials privately admitting that the reason for this was firstly that the CP had "just managed to shake the AWB tag off" and secondly that

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Terre'Blanche was "still far too deeply immersed in the Jani Allan scandal."

As so often happens in politics, the strangest twist occurs when it is the least expected. HNP leader Jaap Marais, who had so often attacked the AWB for its "dream-like Volkstaat plan" and its "uniforms, militancy and anti-democratic values" and of course who had forbidden HNP members from joining the AWB, then did an about turn and announced that there would be an election pact between the HNP and the AWB.

Marais announced that the HNP candidate in Rustenburg had been provisionally withdrawn in favor of Terre'Blanche and that he expected reciprocal support from AWB supporters in other seats against the CP.

Two weeks after Terre'Blanche announced his candidacy in Rustenburg he, Jaap Marais, and Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder addressed a news conference in a Pretoria hotel. Appearing together for the first time, the three made an appeal for unity and formalized the "right-wing front" as it was called. This front was to oppose the CP should that party not come to some agreement with it.

Professor Johan Schabort, leader of an even more right-wing group called the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, (BBB–or White Liberation Movement) also initially put his name to the unity front, even though he at that stage was still under formal restriction orders (he and his movement had been banned following the Strijdom Square shootings the previous year—see chapter 14) in the name of the Blanke Party (White Party). The White Party, however, existed only in name.

The offer was again turned down by the CP and once again Terre'Blanche's hopes of forcing an opening for himself came to naught.

The "unity front" of right-wingers soon suffered its first blow when Schabort decided halfway through to issue a statement saying that he in fact did not support the front, that the White Party was a figment of some journalist's imagination, and that all support should be given to the CP.

Jaap Marais then refused to stand down in Andries Treurnicht's seat of Waterberg, causing the CP to become even more unlikely to agree to any pact. When it became obvious even to Terre'Blanche that the CP was not going to work together with the AWB, HNP, or anyone else, he decided to withdraw from the election completely.

In a statement issued on July 13, 1989, just less than a month after he announced his original intention to stand, Terre'Blanche officially announced that he was withdrawing as a potential candidate in Rustenburg.

The September election came and went—and saw the CP increase its number of seats from twenty-two to thirty-nine, a good improvement but still not enough to derail the NP, which won ninety-three seats—nine more than the eighty-four needed to form a government.

The HNP was destroyed, drawing only 5,531 votes countrywide. Terre'Blanche's point in his letter to Treurnicht that by supporting the CP in 1987 he "had destroyed the HNP" was proven true. Marais obviously did not know about Terre'Blanche's views on this matter, and entered into a working alliance with Terre'Blanche in 1990.

In a bitter article published in the September edition of the AWB newspaper, *Sweepslag*, after the election results became known, Terre'Blanche lambasted the CP's performance in the election, calling the CP's election results "pathetic" and ascribing them to the refusal of the CP to work together with the AWB and the HNP.

When the National Party succeeded in winning the September election with an endorsement of their "five year plan" for South Africa, they almost immediately set about putting

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it into effect. What the plan basically boiled down to was a speeding up of the reform process which had been begun in earnest by former State President P.W. Botha.

One of the first steps taken by the then new State President, F.W. de Klerk, was to release most of the senior African National Congress leaders still being held in prison and then allowing peaceful mass demonstrations for the first time since the 1960s.

This led to a spate of pro-ANC marches, first in the Black areas and then spreading into Johannesburg and other White areas.

Robert van Tonder addresses the AWB rally on Church Square, September 1989.

Eventually a Black protest meeting was held on Church Square in the middle of Pretoria itself. The significance of Church Square lies in the fact that it, along with the Voortrekker Monument, symbolizes Afrikanerdom. Church Square is dominated by a larger than life statue of Afrikaner hero Paul Kruger, old president of the independent Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) which had fought the British Empire in two wars during the previous century.

Church Square also looks onto the old ZAR “Raadsaal” (parliament)–the first parliament in Africa–and was where Kruger himself would address his volk on state occasions. Kruger’s original house (now a national monument) is only about one kilometer away from Church Square. Thus when the Black pro-ANC meeting was granted permission to gather in Church Square, the right wing and particularly the AWB, regarded it as inflammatory. The pro-ANC meeting took place on Friday, September 15, 1989. At first the group of Blacks, sporting ANC and South African Communist Party posters, moved cautiously round the square. Then plucking up courage, some started to climb up the Kruger statue, draping their flags and posters over it.

The resultant pictures and publicity sent the right wing into a fury. The AWB announced that it would be holding a protest meeting at the monument the following Saturday morning. About twelve hundred whites turned up for the rally, addressed by Terre’Blanche and Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party (BSP). Although the crowd was relatively small, the mood was militant.

Angered by the electoral defeat at the beginning of the month and by the fact that Blacks had danced on the virtually holy statue of Paul Kruger, the crowd took it upon themselves to

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prevent any Blacks from entering the square. Several violent racial clashes then occurred. Police eventually intervened, and stationed themselves around the square entrances, preventing Blacks from entering the square for their own safety.

The scene transformed itself into something which looked like a Hollywood movie set, with hundreds of police swarming into the city, a helicopter hovering over Church Square, water cannons lining the streets, and policemen forming a human barrier between the AWB supporters and a large crowd of singing and chanting Blacks who had gathered in one of the streets leading to the square.

A group of about three hundred Blacks then tried to march on the square, and police vehicles just managed to prevent them from getting to the square where a full scale racial conflict would have taken place.

As it was, fighting spilled down the main street. AWB flags transformed the usually neat and sedate square into a riot of color and banners reading “Hang Mandela–Free Strydom” (the convicted mass murderer who gunned down several Blacks in Pretoria the previous year) and “Boer State the only solution” abounded.

A large swastika flag, borne by a man wearing AWB-khaki clothes and an AWB belt then appeared. The bearer of the flag hid his face behind a khaki scarf, and refused to talk to the press or identify himself.

Deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, Piet Rudolph, welcomed the crowds, asking for calm and restraint. He however noticed a small number of Blacks who had decided for some strange reason to mingle with the crowd of angry Whites. “Will the volksvreemdes (aliens) please leave our presence,” Rudolph said. “They had their chance to climb like baboons over the monument last week. This is our territory now.” Those Blacks who did not get the message were then physically removed, including one baffled ice cream seller.

While Van Tonder spoke, yet another scuffle erupted between AWB supporters and Blacks who tried to enter the square. As usual for pressmen in South Africa at the time, many had their films confiscated by the police and several foreign newsmen were arrested and briefly detained. The meeting ended at about 11:30 a.m. without further incidents, although the appearance of the swastika flag was later to spark off a rumpus in the press and in the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

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The appearance of a swastikabearing AWB supporter at the September 1989 Church Square rally provoked an outcry.

A meeting organized by former AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald's new group, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB–Boer Freedom Movement), took place on the square just past midday after the AWB had left. The BVB meeting was much smaller and very peaceful. A ten man BVB delegation was allowed to go to the Pretoria central police station to protest the "desecration" of the statue, but that was the most militant event at the BVB rally.

At a meeting in his hometown of Ventersdorp marking the opening of the new AWB head office in that town on October 10, 1989, Terre'Blanche demanded that State President De Klerk grant an interview to him as soon as possible–after De Klerk had invited all interested parties to come and see him about the future of South Africa.

A written request was then sent to De Klerk, who replied that he could see Terre'Blanche and a delegation on the afternoon of November 9. The right-wing delegation included Terre'Blanche himself, Pretoria AWB leader (and later deputy leader of the AWB) Ernst van der Westhuizen, Piet Cloete (Transvaal Separatist leader), Brigadier Theuns "Red Russian" Swanepoel, and Van Tonder and Rudolph from the BSP. De Klerk was assisted by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Gerrit Viljoen.

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The interview covered a number of topics, but the main one was the AWB's demand that the old Boer Republics be restored and separated from the rest of South Africa.

De Klerk dismissed the idea out of hand. Terre'Blanche said that the old Boer Republics were legally the property of the "volk," and that it could not now be expected of the Boers to give up the right to rule themselves and their own territory.

Further discussion centered on the question of violence–Terre'Blanche assured De Klerk that the AWB was not a violent organization.

Questioned by the delegation as to what his reaction would be if a delegation of Zulus came to him and requested a homeland, De Klerk said he would give it to them. This point was later taken up by the AWB in propaganda pieces: Why were the Boers being discriminated against?

"Why would De Klerk agree to give the Zulus their independence in their own territory when he was not prepared to do the same for the Boers?" asked the December 1989 issue of *Sweepslag.*

Piet Rudolph was later to say that it was during this interview with De Klerk that he realized the "Boers would have to fight" and that was when he decided to take up arms.

The interview (not surprisingly) had no effect on De Klerk's thinking—he even dismissed the delegation at a press conference afterwards as being "unrealistic and not representative of a large number of people anyway. Their proposals are out of touch with reality in South Africa and are unpractical."

The AWB executive then decided to call together a national meeting of its leadership structure in order to map out a strategy for the movement in the light of the rapid reforms of De Klerk. On December 2, 1989, a national conference was held in the Western Transvaal town of Klerksdorp. BSP leader Van Tonder and the Transvaal Separatist leader Cloete attended the meeting of almost eight hundred local AWB leaders from around the country.

The conference's main theme was to plan a strategy as to how the Volkstaat was going to be achieved. Speaking after the meeting, Terre'Blanche said the Boers would consider it an act of treason should the government not recognize them at the negotiating table. Quoting an official motion passed at the meeting, Terre'Blanche said, "If we lose the legal right to our land we will have no choice but to defend ourselves with the necessary force. This would in effect mean that a state of war would exist between us and the government. The Boers demand that land which made up the old Boer Republics should become the new Volkstaat."

It was announced that the three organizations present would in the future all work together to achieve this goal, and would be known under the umbrella of a new organization called the Boere Sepratiste–the "Boer Separatists." At the same time plans were announced to hold elections for a "Boer Parliament" which would then represent the Boers in any negotiations.

The election of the new parliament was set for May 31, 1990. Voters registered for the elections by filling in a specially printed form, and paying R50 which was then used to make up a new identity document for them.

The application form clearly showed the Van Tonder separatist ideal at work, as people signing the form had to undertake to recognize only the Transvaal Republic Anthem as the national anthem and the Transvaal Flag as the national flag, and to ignore the official anthem of South Africa and the official flag. The form also asked some interesting questions such as the color of the applicant's eyes and details on his forebearers.

The main person running the registrations was Piet Rudolph in Pretoria, but with his disappearance at the beginning of May 1990 (see chapter 15) the whole scheme was indefinitely

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postponed.

The then president F.W. De Klerk's announcements of February 2, 1990, when the bans on the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress (a hard-line Black nationalist breakaway from the ANC) were announced, coupled with the unconditional release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela a few days later, sparked off a large number of defections of NP supporters to the Conservative Party and probably even further right.

The leaders of the HNP, the AWB, the BSP, and the Transvaal Separatists then called upon the Conservative Party to force a new election on the government by making its town councilors and members of parliament resign.

At a combined press conference held in Pretoria these leaders said such a step would prove that the government had no support amongst the Whites for its reform measures and could eventually force a general election on the government. During the by-elections and if a general election were also to result, the HNP, AWB, and all other groups would support the CP without any preconditions, they said.

The CP turned the resignation suggestion down as a means of forcing a general election on the government, and pointed out that the state president could delay by-elections for as long as six months and then in all likelihood the NP would not even put up candidates to oppose the CP men again, making the whole exercise a waste of time.

The AWB had in the meantime held a protest march in response to the unbanning of the ANC. This protest meeting and march was from Church Square in Pretoria to the seat of the government, the Union Buildings, and was held on February 10, 1990. About four thousand people took part in the march, which was marked by an open and vehement anti-Jewish streak.

Before Terre'Blanche arrived, an Israeli Star of David flag was publicly burnt by a number of people belonging to a church group called the Israel Vision church, which claims that the true Jews of the Bible are the White Europeans, and that the Jews of today are "satanic imposters." (This sect is also known as the British Israelite belief, as it had its origin in the United Kingdom.)

Apart from the flag burning, posters reading "Hitler was right–Communism is Jewish" and several swastika flags–this time carried openly by people not wearing masks, appeared in the largest number ever yet seen in public in South Africa.

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The AWB rally in February 1990 was marked by an anti-Jewish outburst unseen before even in the ranks of the AWB.

Another poster which attracted much criticism was carried by a small child. The poster in question read (in Afrikaans) “The Boers are ready for the Kaffirs”–an indication of the militancy of the march.

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Above: Piet Rudolph carries the symbolic child's coffin to the offices of the then state president, F.W. de Klerk. Terre'Blanche's arm can be seen putting the packet of silver coins onto the coffin —symbolizing the Judaslike betrayal of the Afrikaners by F.W. de Klerk. Below: The coffin on the steps outside de Klerk's office.

After listening to a speech by Terre'Blanche, the crowd moved off on the three kilometer walk to the Union Buildings, singing and chanting all the way. The agreement that had been drawn up with the chief magistrate of Pretoria when permission for the march had been obtained was that the AWB crowd would gather at the bottom of the building gardens, and from there a delegation would go up to the building itself to present a petition to an official from the state

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president's office, protesting against the unbanning of the ANC and Communist Party.

By the time of the march however, it had been decided to present the official with a small coffin representing the death of the White nation and the Afrikaner children who had died in the Anglo-Boer war along with thirty pieces of silver—a biblical symbol of betrayal (according to the Bible, one of Jesus' disciples, Judas, betrayed him for thirty pieces of silver).

Arriving at the gardens, Terre'Blanche, Van Tonder, Piet Rudolph, and their ever present burly bodyguards made their way up to the Union Building, where they were met by a Colonel Ben Groenewald from the state president's office.

While Rudolph held the coffin in front of Groenewald, Terre'Blanche gave a small speech saying what the coffin symbolized, and then threw down thirty silver coins in a packet on top of the coffin.

The colonel however refused to accept the coffin, saying that he was neutral and could not accept money (the coins were valid South African currency). Rudolph then shouted at him that he "was looking for an excuse not to take it" and then threw the coffin down at the colonel's feet. As he did that, some of the AWB men standing around then hit the colonel on the head with their flag poles,

forcing him to flee to avoid serious injury. The marchers then dispersed surprisingly peacefully.

The coffin and money lay there on the steps of the building until some hours later when passing University of Pretoria students stole the money and police removed the coffin.

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CHAPTER TWELVE: NEW PRINCIPLES

During a 1986 head council meeting it was decided to revise the program of principles and the constitution of the AWB. For this purpose a constitutional committee under the chairmanship of professor Alkmar Swart, who was also chairman of the great council of the AWB, was established.

The committee spent nearly a year on the project, and reported back to the head council on February 7, 1987. The head council accepted the proposals with only minor amendments.

This revised program of principles was the subject of an investigation by one of the three mainline Afrikaans churches, the Hervormde Kerk in 1987. The church's investigation reported that there was "nothing in this formulation (the new program of principles) against which the church wishes to express itself."

It is doubtful if the church would have come to the same conclusion had they had the opportunity to study the first program of principles instead.

The second program of principles was marked by a far more sophisticated approach and manner to the whole question of Afrikaner survival. Gone were references to the "Jewish octopus spreading its tentacles around the Afrikaner nation" and in its place appeared acceptable language asking in a reasonable tone for the restoration of the "Boer volk's" freedom. Extreme Christianity remained as the dominating feature in both sets of principles.

It is also marked by the inclusion of the word "Boer" on a par with the word "Afrikaner"—a clear indication of the change in policy direction since the original program was drawn up in 1979. Another new feature of the revised set was the official inclusion of the claims to territory (the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Northern Natal) of the old Boer Republics —proof that the Robert Van Tonder idea had taken firm root in the movement.

Constitutionally, the new Boer State would be arranged along "Christian National lines" with Afrikaans being the official language and the Four Color flag the official flag. Communism and other "state or government forms alien to the volk" would be banned.

Interestingly enough, racial segregation, where it was designed to "enshrine minority power in the middle of a mixed country" was specifically rejected. The AWB looked to take apartheid to its logical extreme—to separate the races so completely that segregation measures as enforced in the past would not be necessary. (How they intended to achieve this when even the 1936 census showed that 73 percent of the population in the Transvaal and Orange Free State were Black, was not dealt with, probably because drastic measures would be needed to remove this huge mass of people from the planned Volkstaat.)

Citizenship of the state would be the "exclusive right of members of the volk" and other Whites and immigrants could obtain citizenship by "incorporation and unification" with the "Afrikaner-Boer" volk.

The principle of a form of public representation without parties as laid down in the first program, was upheld in the second set. An election every five years was also specified as a necessity. Other principles which were maintained were state ownership of heavy industry and mineral rights—socialist principles which are amusing in light of the AWB's declared opposition to communism.

The territory of the state was to be owned by citizens of the state. "A volk must do its own labor to ensure its survival, and therefore dependence on foreign labor must be avoided." The inclusion of this notion of the use of White labor into the program of principles showed how far the Union of Orange Workers ideal of "White labor" had permeated into the AWB. Farming

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methods which encouraged the use of foreign (that is Black) labor were to be rejected, and "farming systems which cut out the dependence of the agricultural sector on foreign labor must be developed."

In contrast to the program of principles, the AWB's constitutional structure underwent fairly few changes with the 1987 rewriting. Membership of the organization was limited to any White citizen of the Republic of South Africa provided they were over the age of sixteen (the previous constitution demanded a minimum age of eighteen) and was not a member of a "non-national or alien organization." Included under these organizations were service organizations such as Rotary. If a person was a member of such an organization he or she had to resign as demanded by the head council. Only after this would membership of the movement for such a person be considered. (This clause was meant to exclude organizations such as Freemasons, regarded by the right wing as a Jewish organization.)

The AWB's executive council could also, without supplying any reasons, refuse to accept membership applications, or end the membership of a person or persons. Any such person who had his membership ended in this way had the right of appeal to a higher authority, the head council.

Of particular interest is section 4.3 of the constitution which stated that a person's membership ccould be terminated "as a result of misbehavior or inability or any activity which harms the movement." A person's membership automatically lapsed as soon as that person did anything "which is harmful to the Movement." This clause has been used more than once, allegedly to settle personal disputes and for more official reasons such as during the arms trial of 1983.

Individual members were then banded together in local groupings called burgerrade (citizen's councils). Any ordinary member of the AWB who wanted to join his local burgerraad, had to be involved in the activities of the movement.

The position of women as subservient to men was written into the constitution: section 6 states that "women can serve with full voting rights in the burgerrade. However, no woman may serve in a position of authority over any male."

The founding of a burgerraad was always subject to the approval of the next highest authority in the organization, a regional council, and also finally subject to executive council approval. At least seven and at the most fifty fully functioning members could form a burgerraad. If the total number of persons involved in any one burgerraad exceeded fifty, then a new council was formed. Wherever practical (which never happened) a burgerrade was to be divided up into professions. The burgerraad itself consisted of a leader, a deputy leader, a secretary, and ordinary members.

The burgerrade functioned essentially as party branches, and were responsible for the hiring of halls for meetings and other such activities. Many burgerrade became deeply involved in the AWB's feeding scheme, and spent large amounts of time transporting food and clothing to needy Afrikaners in their

areas.

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The AWB's feeding scheme, designed to help poor Afrikaners.

The regional councils were one step higher in the organization. They were comprised of the executives of each burgerraad. The regional council could also select a female representative of the AWB women's sections in its area, and a woman so chosen could sit on the head council of the AWB, but again without voting rights. The constitution provided that the area of a regional council should coincide with electoral constituencies as decided upon by the Department of the Interior. The leaders and deputy leaders of the regional councils then formed area councils which coordinated activities countrywide.

The next highest body was the head council, which consisted of the following members: the leader of the movement, the deputy leader, the chairman of another body called the great council, regional council leaders (or their nominees) and area leaders. This head council was the most important existing body in the AWB—as was evidenced by the intense interest in its important meeting of January 21, 1989, after the Jani Allan scandal broke.

According to section 33 of the AWB's constitution, the head council had the following duties: to determine the policy direction, strategy, and future plans of the movement within the framework of the constitution and the program of principles subject to the veto right of the leader (of the AWB) based on the recommendations of his own members and those of the executive committee; to ratify the executive committee's approval of membership applications; the appointment of regional leaders, area leaders and any other decisions which may be taken by the executive committee; to keep a watch on the execution of the duties by all lower authority councils and committees; and from time to time to investigate "matters of interest to the volk."

The power to elect the leader of the movement was also vested in the head council. Although only a simple majority was needed to elect a leader, once elected such a leader could only be removed from office by the head council with a two thirds majority vote.

The deputy leader of the movement was appointed by the leader, subject to the ratification of the head Council. All head council meetings were arranged by the leader of the movement.

The executive committee was appointed by the leader to carry out duties and tasks with relation to the structure, strategy, and functioning of the movement. All appointments to the executive were subject to ratification by the head council.

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Members of the Boerejeug—the AWB's youth movement—salute during an AWB rally, 1988.

The executive was composed of the following posts: the leader (with veto rights), the deputy leader (who had veto rights in the absence of the leader), the chief secretary, the administrative secretary, the financial secretary, the head of organization, and other personnel appointed "as the leader deemed fit" to do work such as public relations, media relations, information, coordination, special projects, and training programs.

The great council was appointed by the leader of the movement. This council had as its purpose the dispensing of advice to the leader, the head council and the upper council. Members of the great council could also give advice to members of the executive. The four men who asked Terre'Blanche to resign in January 1988 were all members of this great council, and as such had no executive power to enforce their request.

The upper council was the supreme body of the AWB. It was never constituted, and was destined only to be activated should the AWB's Volkstaat come about. The upper council, if constituted, would consist of the leader of the AWB, the deputy leader, as many other members of the head council as appointed thereto by the leader, and as many members of the great council as appointed by the leader. This upper council would in effect be an executive cabinet entrusted with running the affairs of state. The leader of the movement would also therefore be the president of the state in his capacity as head of the upper council. The appointment of the different portfolios (or cabinet posts) in the upper council would rest with the leader.

Finally there was something called the national council. This council would meet once a year at a place and time decided upon by the upper council, and would consist of the following persons: the upper council, the head council, the executive committee, and deputies from every district council by means of the burgerrade—with a maximum of two deputies from each burgerraad.

The purpose of the national council was to obtain a complete overview of the movement's activities and progress over the previous year. The national council was only convened once—in 1991—as it too was specifically designed for the day when the AWB would have exclusive control over its own Volkstaat.

Then there were two other divisions within the constitution—the Boerejeug (Boer youth) which was the youth movement of the AWB; and the Boerevrou (Boer women—the women's

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section). The leader of the AWB had the right to appoint the leader of Boerejeug, and was granted the right to veto or reject any action or proposed action by the youth movement. The Boerejeug executive would, as often as deemed necessary by the leader, report to him on its activities.

The Boervrou consisted of female members who wanted to organize themselves into their own separate burgerrade, although this was not compulsory. Many feeding scheme projects have been run by such Boerevrou burgerrade. Section 51.4 of the constitution states that female members "are encouraged to carry out the following specific projects: administrative, secretarial, emergency help and care, food distribution, spiritual and physical preparedness, fundraising."

The constitution also stated that Afrikaans was the only official language of the movement, and that all internal correspondence of the movement would be in Afrikaans.

An economic recession in the middle 1980s in South Africa saw many low-income White families fall on hard times. Scenes of White children begging in the streets for food had not been seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s and gave rise in 1986 to one of the AWB's most successful projects ever—a charity food drive for Whites initially called the AWB-Voedingskema (AWB Feeding Scheme), although the following year the name was changed to the Volkshulpskema (People's Help Scheme).

By means of the AWB's news bulletin, appeals were made, and although initially the call was only for financial donations it shortly expanded into direct food donations as well. The food drive immediately began feeding projects at schools in poor Afrikaner areas in Pretoria and on the East and West Rands. A small band of workers under one Giel Groenewald took it upon themselves to distribute the food. Without any aid whatsoever this small group distributed more than three hundred tons of food during the last three months of 1986. Hundreds of tons of maize meal were delivered and farmers in the Eastern Transvaal began donating vegetables and foodstuffs on a weekly basis which were then distributed in Johannesburg to needy Afrikaner families.

By 1988 the VHS had distributed more food and clothing than the government's official charity projects. Full-time personnel were appointed to manage the project. On March 3, 1987, popular local Afrikaans singer, Bles Bridges, surprised the country by giving a concert in the Pretoria City Hall in aid of the AWB-Volkshulpskema, and raised R10,000 in this manner.

With the approach of winter the drive was expanded to include bedding. Work placement services were started as well, and many employers, desperate at the continual work stoppages caused by striking Black workers (who are very politicized in South Africa) readily employed Whites offered to them by the Volkshulpskema.

Many young unemployed men were "arranged" jobs on the mines or were employed by sympathetic farmers. During school holidays, the drive also provided children with temporary work or sent them to farms as part of the program to supplement family income.

The Volkshulpskema had an important political spinoff as well. All food received by the Volkshulpskema was divided up into smaller packets and had AWB labels attached to them, thus always reminding the recipients of the origin of the item. There is no doubt that these sort of actions increased the popularity of the AWB amongst Afrikaners, and the effects could be seen in the working Afrikaner's voting habits—he became the first to desert the National Party and vote for the Conservative Party.

The drive was eventually expanded to include the Orange Free State and parts of Natal as well. The AWB was also able to make much propaganda out of the fact that it cared for the volk while the government did not—even the Volkshulpskema motto was "We Care."

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AWB propaganda was always quick to point out that the drive distributed more food to needy Whites than the government had. By the third year of its existence, the Volkshulpskema provided nearly fourteen thousand White children across the country with a meal a day.

In Pretoria, where the drive originated, several hundred families in the poorest area of Danville could be seen standing in orderly queues waiting for food. Even when the AWB split in 1989, the feeding drive continued, run partly by the AWB and partly by the breakaway organization. However it had completely folded by 1994.

Many farmers had their own private airplanes for crop spraying or game counting purposes, and so it was logical that many of the AWB members amongst them would form a flying club. This AWB flying club was officially founded on May 21, 1988, and was known as the "Golden Eagles." On a number of occasions the Golden Eagles flew Terre'Blanche to meetings that he would otherwise have missed.

At the beginning of 1982 the AWB moved its offices from the Das Central building in Volkstem Avenue to a small building in Church Street, Pretoria, just opposite the new South African Reserve bank building. There they stayed until the following year, when they moved to their best known site, Adverto House, in the Pretoria suburb of Sunnyside.

An attempt to lease larger premises in Sunnyside from the South African Permanent Building Society came to naught when that institution discovered the identity of its prospective new tenants (the SA Perm required a court case to nullify the lease, which had already been signed) and so in December 1987 the AWB moved its Pretoria head office from Sunnyside to the new Willie Marais building in the plush suburb of Waterkloof.

The Willie Marais building belonged to millionaire Willie Marais, one of the founders of the HNP, who was also that party's chairman. These offices were occupied until 1989, when the head office was again moved to Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal.

The AWB's occupation of the various premises throughout the years did not pass without some drama, with both the Church Street offices and the Adverto House offices being gasoline bombed by unknown assailants in 1982 and 1987 respectively.

According to Groenewald, a year before the final split between himself and Terre'Blanche, the AWB was spending approximately R60,000 per month on running costs, and had no large debt. However after the split, the debt rose tremendously, particularly the debt to the printers. At one stage money had been raised from a number of supporters to buy a plot of land in the northern Pretoria town of Akasia.

The plot, which was duly bought, was to be the site of a future permanent head office of the movement. However by 1989 the debt to the printer, Wentel Coetzer, was so large that the plot was given to him as payment instead of cash.

Former AWB chief secretary, Willem Olivier, claimed that the AWB's financial position was, contrary to what Groenewald said, always on shaky grounds. "They have never had an effective way of checking which members paid their dues (a minimum of R5 a month) or not, and many of the more expensive projects were financed by single one-off donations," said Olivier.

"The finances were such a shambles that once I had Martie Terre'Blanche, (Eugene's wife), who used to work in the AWB office from time to time, in tears when he just asked her for a statement of income. I sat with accounts that had to be paid, but I didn't even know where the money was coming from or even if there was money," he said.

Terre'Blanche was earning some R43,000 a year as leader of the AWB during 1988—plus a car, usually a BMW-5 series sedan. He also had a virtually unlimited expense account.

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Many of his critics within the movement later contrasted his lifestyle with that of deputy leader Jan Groenewald, who drew such a meager salary that at one stage concerned AWB men actually started a special fund to supplement Groenewald's income.

Terre'Blanche's income as leader of the AWB of course varied along with the fortunes of the movement. By 1994 he was being paid virtually nothing and in 1995 most of the AWB's money went into keeping the office functioning rather than paying him a salary.

There were few things more speculated upon than the AWB's membership figures. Guesses ranged from ten thousand to sixty thousand, but the movement always had a strict policy of never releasing any details in this regard.

In a special interview for this book in January 1990, disaffected former AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald however revealed that at the end of 1988, the total membership, which varied from week to week, never exceeded 14,900.

This figure only included dues-paying members, while "active sympathizers" who regularly gave financial contributions or other help in one way or another actually numbered close to 150,000, said Groenewald. To this must be added the total number of people countrywide who attended meetings, and a total sympathetic following of 300,000 is not unrealistic. This was a considerable percentage of the White population, and made up almost 15 percent of the White electorate.

However, the creation of the AWB's most successful armed wing, the Wenkommando, in 1990, saw membership shoot up, and on paper at least the Wenkommando membership varied between 55,000 and 60,000. Obviously not all of these were active members of the movement.

However, in 1994 the author of this book personally viewed the official AWB records at the AWB's head office in Ventersdorp. The files there contained a total of 104,000 membership application forms which had been filled in by AWB members over the years.

The AWB had a popular image as a neo-Nazi group. Terre'Blanche himself always denied this. A comparison between genuine Nazism (National Socialism) and the AWB's symbols and philosophy can answer this question. If the AWB's symbols are looked at from an objective point of view, then there can be no doubt that the first impression is one of National Socialism.

While the "triple seven" flag was the best known emblem of the AWB, the organization did have a number of other emblems which it used. These ranged from the old Four Color flag through to the Eagle.

The Four Color flag was designed by a Reverend Dirk van der Hoff in 1857. It consists of the three colors of the Dutch flag with a strip of green running down the left-hand side, symbolizing the green land of the Transvaal. The flag was raised for the first time on January 6, 1857, and was declared the official flag of the Transvaal Republic in 1858. It was flown as symbol of state for the last time on May 31, 1902, the day of the final surrender of the Boer republics to the British at the end of the second Anglo-Boer war.

The eagle was one of the more striking emblems of the AWB, and one that usually drew comparisons between the AWB and the National Socialists. The AWB claimed no link to Nazism though, and explained it thus in its official guide: "This emblem enables the AWB to give its full acknowledgment to the symbolism of the eagle which epitomizes the protection of the Lord: 'Like an Eagle that stirs up its nest, that flutters over its young, spreading out its wings, catching them, bearing them on its pinions' (Deuteronomy 32 verse 11) and 'Keep me in the apple of your eye, hide me in the shadow of thy wings' (Psalm 17 verse 8).

"Through the centuries the Christian peoples have used eagles in their country coats-of-

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arms, shields and family crests. It is therefore particularly apt that on top of each of the coat-of-arms of the old Boer republics there was a powerful eagle. The eagle that the AWB uses as an emblem is stylistically drawn so as to distinguish it from all other eagle emblems," reads the official explanation.

Although it is true that the eagle appears on the crests of the old Boer republics, and therefore predates the National Socialists by almost one hundred years, when it is placed on top of the "three sevens" symbol there can be little doubt as to its true inspiration.

The eagle used in the AWB's symbol was also used by the Boer republics of the 19th Century, as can be seen in the coats of arms of the Tranvaal above, but, when combined with the three sevens symbology, leaves little doubt as to its true origins.

According to the official guide the "three sevens represent the biblical figure of perfection and final victory in and through Jesus Christ. The 777 figure stands in direct contrast to 666—the figure of the anti-Christ, the animal of the biblical book of Revelation. The circle form in which the three sevens is placed symbolizes continuous movement forward and therefore everlasting life in Jesus Christ."

The explanation of the symbolism of the colors differed from pamphlet to pamphlet—while the very first explanation (issued in 1979) said red "was the color of the blood which the Christian Afrikaner had to sacrifice as a guarantee for his self preservation," the 1988 explanation said red "stood for the blood that Christ spilt on the cross for our sins. It also stands for the blood of the Christian and the Afrikaner-Boer."

The 1979 explanation said the white color stood for "the White race and the purity of our ideal" while the 1988 version only made mention of the "purity of the ideal." The black was explained away in 1979 as contrasting with the white color as a "symbol of division and racial

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authenticity" while in 1988 it was claimed that black was the heraldic symbol for "bravery."

Clearly the differing explanations for the colors of the "three sevens" flag gave the AWB immense problems, as no South African or Afrikaner historical precedents could be found for them. They were obviously taken from National Socialist Germany, who in turn had taken them from the old pre-World War One imperial German flag.

The AWB's 'triple 7' emblem, claimed to have been derived from biblical cources, but had clear Nazi connotations, and, in reversed format, was used as the symbol of the 27th Waffen-SS Volunteer Grendier Division Langemarck (1st Flemsih) during World War II, as can be seen by the illustrations

Jan Groenewald made the original design for the "three sevens" flag. Admitting that German history "may have played a role in the design and color choice," Groenewald nevertheless maintained that the original idea behind the use of three sevens was to propound the

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number seven as it appears in the Bible as the “biblical number of perfection in opposition to the three sixes of the anti-Christ.”

“All during Terre’Blanche’s speeches, he never took any ideas or concepts from German volks-ideology,” Groenewald said. “It was always out of our own history. The controversial nature of the three sevens symbol was also its greatest strength, which served as a lightning conductor as well.” Dries Alberts, longtime AWB workhorse and propaganda master, refined the symbol slightly to make it more symmetrical and effective.

Anti-Semitism can be clearly divided into two distinct categories—traditional (or “irrational”) anti-Semitism, and scientific (or “rational”) anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semites predating the Nazis fell into the category of “traditional anti-Semites”—they tried to bolster their dislike of the Jews with accusations such as “the Jews are Christ’s killers” and “the Jews are money lenders,” while the Nazis practiced scientific anti-Semitism in that they tried to prove their accusations against the Jews with scientific facts and figures showing Jewish involvement in communism and leftist political and social movements.

The two main platforms of National Socialism are firstly a belief in the inherent genetic superiority of the White race, and the Nordic subdivision of the White race in particular, and secondly a belief in a formal or informal Jewish “conspiracy” which has as its aim the enforced mixing of the different races and the secret controlling of all governments and the media. This conspiracy takes the forms of world communism and capitalism, both of which are viewed as peculiarly Jewish creations.

Nazi propaganda (or “scientific anti-Semitism”) pointed to the fact that the founder of modern-day communism, Karl Marx, was born a Jew and the fact that a majority of the dedicated revolutionaries who turned Russia into a Communist state in the 1917 revolution were also Jews—men such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Larine, Kamenev and so on.

Nazi propaganda also claimed that the majority of capitalists in the Western world were also Jews, and alleged there was some type of global cooperation between the Communist Jews and Capitalist Jews.

This distinction between “irrational” and “rational” anti-Semitism was precipitated by the influence of Christianity. The traditional anti-Semites used a Christian basis as the starting point for their dislike of Jews, while the “rational” anti-Semites used what they perceived to be a Jewish preponderance in left-wing or liberal activities.

This division on religious grounds is an important distinction to bear in mind when considering the AWB’s pronouncements on Jews.

In April 1982 Terre’Blanche granted an interview to *Sunday Express* journalist Kitt Katzin, and during the course of the conversation managed to drop a political bombshell that was to create a furor for months afterwards—he claimed that South Africa’s 120,000 strong Jewish community should be deprived of the right to vote.

Speaking from his Ventersdorp farm, Terre’Blanche told Katzin that he was neither a Nazi or influenced by Hitler and Mussolini, but that South Africa’s Jews would be deprived of political rights under an Afrikaner Christian people’s government controlled by the AWB.

“The Jews must decide between two things in this country, political rights or economic freedom,” Terre’Blanche said. “They cannot have both. They cannot have political rights. It is Israel, not South Africa, which they recognize as their fatherland.”

When Katzin suggested that such a policy would amount to naked racism and anti-Semitism, Terre’Blanche became angry and denied that he or the AWB were anti-Semitic.

“Rather we are pro-Christian—and the Christian ideology, which is the fundamental

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pillar of Afrikaner Nationalism, and of an AWB government, remains non-negotiable," he shouted at Katzin.

"Nobody who is not a Christian will ever sit in our parliament. I bear no hatred to the Jews—I do not hate anyone—and I give the assurance that an AWB government would not discriminate against them or anyone else provided they remain loyal to the Afrikaner fatherland. The Jews can remain in South Africa, but they will never be given the right to vote or to participate in an exclusive Christian White Afrikaner government. They are not Christians and South Africa is not their fatherland."

These views drew immediate reaction from the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, who issued a statement saying they had taken note of Terre'Blanche views "with dismay and disgust. This policy, reminiscent of the racist philosophy of Hitler and his fellow Nazis, can cause incalculable harm to our country. We confidently believe that every right-thinking South African will disavow the rabid anti-Semitic sentiments of Terre'Blanche and his followers."

In 1988 a number of incidents occurred: the Hess service, the incident involving the placing of a pig's head on the doorstep of the Jewish Club in Durban, and other events which prompted the Jewish Board of Deputies to again issue a statement devoted especially to the AWB.

"The AWB poses an impediment to the peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems and impairs South Africa's standing in the international community," the statement said. "The board views the activities of the AWB with grave concern. The objectives of the AWB are repugnant to decent-minded people and totally inconsistent with the precepts of a democratic society."

Exactly five days later the then Prime Minister P.W. Botha made a searing attack on the AWB, saying there "was no room for neo-Nazis in South Africa. Jewish people have served South Africa faithfully and have sacrificed their blood at times," Botha said. "Mr. Terre'Blanche's comments have been highly objectionable and all thinking South Africans will disassociate themselves from them."

Speaking at an open air rally at the Goudstad Onderwysers Kollege (Johannesburg Teacher's College) in April 1986, Terre'Blanche elaborated further on his "Christianity only" theme with regard to mineral rights in South Africa: "God has given the minerals of South Africa to the Afrikaner nation, so that they might protect them from the ravages of the armies of Islam and the Anti-Christ," he told a 2,500 strong crowd.

The AWB's and Terre'Blanche's remarks on Jews clearly fell into the traditional anti-Semitism mold, with their extreme Christianity being the basis of their beliefs. The best example of this can be seen in the opening line in the original program of principles, which began with a remark that "the Jews crucified Christ."

In this regard they cannot be regarded as followers of Hitler, but actually of a far older Christian tradition.

Another example of the AWB's anti-Semitism being based on Christianity is their reaction to a contemporary organization which was blatantly anti-Semitic but not based on Christianity. This group was called the Church of the Creator, which although founded in America, had a South African affiliate. This church's members were totally irreligious, in fact anti-Christian, but also anti- all other religions as well. Its members believed implacably in White racial supremacy, and "rational anti- Semitism." The church also regarded Hitler as the "greatest White man who ever lived."

The AWB took firm steps to prevent any of its members becoming members of the

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Church of the Creator, with a special executive council decision to expel any AWB members who joined the church. An entire burgerraad in Vanderbijl Park dissolved precisely on this issue.

Yet another organization which emerged which was, in the words of its leader, the most right-wing organization in South Africa, was the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB or White Liberation Movement) under the leadership of Professor Johan Schabort. Schabort's public pronouncements (before he and his group were banned in November 1988) were marked by their absence of the extreme religious element present in the AWB's pronouncements.

Former AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald summed it up as follows: "We did not agree with Schabort because of a number of points: firstly we felt there was no statement of faith in God in their information pieces. Secondly they fought the situation out of a racial point of view, while we saw it as a question of nations, not as races. Thirdly we in the AWB saw the problem as one of awakening a nations' consciousness, while they saw it as one strictly of race and a division on color lines. For example we said that there were many Whites whom we would not want to have as part of our community, while the BBB made it clear that it stood for all Whites no matter what."

On the two points of genuine National Socialist philosophy then, the AWB failed the test. Its world view, while having a racial starting point, was based on culture and not on race. Secondly it was engaged in irrational anti-Semitism, and could not therefore be strictly classified in the Hitler mold in this respect either.

The other outward similarities must however be borne in mind. The uniformed brown shirts, the emblems and the structure of the organization bear very definite similarities to the Nazi storm troopers and party structure. It would thus be a fair summary to say that the AWB was a combination of the outward characteristics of National Socialism, while on a purely philosophical level it was a combination of extreme Afrikaner nationalism and Christian anti-Semitism, and not German National Socialism.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE ARMING OF THE AWB

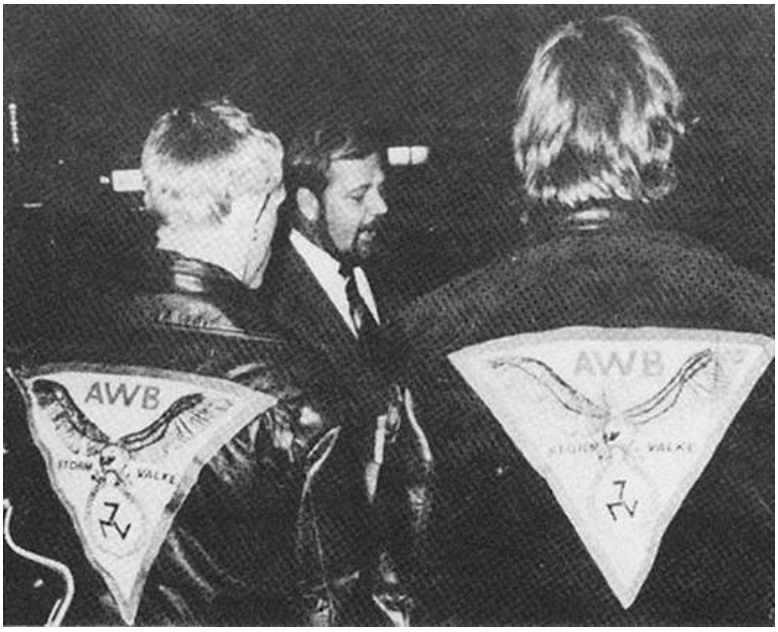
The AWB had a whole series of different uniformed and armed wings during its existence. The very first of these units grew out of the motorcycle enthusiasts known as the “Stormvalke” or Storm Falcons.

Around the end of 1979, a group of young AWB supporters, who were all motorcycle enthusiasts, decided to start an informal motorcycle club. They decided on the name Stormvalke and first appeared at an official AWB function during the 1980 Day of the Covenant celebrations. At that stage they still had no identifying badge or mark, and press reports described them as just a “motorcycle gang.”

After their relatively successful appearance in 1980, the Storm Falcons decided to organize themselves officially and establish a logo and an official club. A dramatic logo was thought up—an eagle with outstretched curved wings holding an AWB three seven symbol in a circle of leaves, with the letters AWB written on top and “Stormvalke” in the middle.

The club turned out to be more of a social event than a serious political force, and more time was spent on Sunday morning breakfast runs and excursions than on serious politics. Newspapers and cartoonists had a field day depicting the AWB motorcyclists as a homegrown version of the Hells’ Angels, and to this day the image of Terre’Blanche wearing a German style motorcyclist’s helmet and riding boots has remained a favorite cartoon character of the press.

As many AWB members were not motorcycle owners or riders, a need developed for a more inclusive type of unit, and thus the “Blitsvalke” (Lightning Falcons) were born. Clad in white shirts with black pants, black tie and jackboots, the Blitsvalke really looked the part of storm troopers. The Blitsvalke were under the command of Francois Jooste, who was one of the men who had stood behind Terre’Blanche during the latter’s memorable speech at the opening of the Afrikaner Volkswag in Pretoria.



The AWB's first paramilitary formation: the "Stormvalke"—based around a motorcycle club.

The Blitsvalke were however fairly short-lived and a new group was formed, again under the leadership of Jooste, called the “Witwag” (White Watch). This uniform was completely white in color, with a large AWB emblem on the front lefthand breast of the shirt. As a result of

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practical problems (the uniform got dirty very quickly) and a difference in opinion over whether the emphasis should be on skin color or culture as the dividing line, the Witwag disappeared before it became widely known, with a National Socialist element in the movement breaking away to team up with another former AWB member, Koos Vermeulen, in what later became known as the Afrikaner National Socialists.

The first inkling of a new militancy came in May of 1985, when Terre'Blanche announced to an enthusiastic crowd of over seven hundred in the Johannesburg suburb of Alberton that local AWB organizations countrywide, the burgerrade, were going to be transformed into "guard units." The purpose of these guard units, Terre'Blanche explained, was to assist the police with the keeping of law and order.

The first of the new groupings, then still unnamed, was set up in the West Rand town of Krugersdorp, where a white house in the suburb of Dan Pienaarville (which borders the Black town of Munsieville) was firebombed early in 1986.

At a three thousand strong public meeting in Krugersdorp at the beginning of February 1986, Terre'Blanche then announced the official name of the new group-the Brandwag (the Sentinel). The unease with which news of the Brandwag was received in government circles did nothing to stop the growth of the organization, and particularly strong branches were formed in the Northern Transvaal along the border with Zimbabwe, which had seen particularly heavy infiltration by ANC elements.

Several white-owned houses in the area had been the victims of firebomb attacks and threats. In one area alone, Steelepoort, more than 150 farmers banded together in a Brandwag. What made the Brandwag all the more formidable was that the local farmers were all members of the local army commando as well, and thus had access to sophisticated weaponry.

A retired senior security policeman, Colonel Arthur Cronwright, in the meantime made elaborate plans to train women and children in the use of firearms and to have horse patrols in the border areas. (Cronwright, who farmed near the Northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt, first made news in 1982 as the officer in charge of the interrogation of White trade unionist Neil Agget, who committed suicide while in police custody.)

Cronwright was severely repudiated by the AWB in an internal inquiry for making his proposal public without first checking it out with the movement's leadership. The plan became public knowledge, finding its way into the newspapers. The subsequent uproar over the proposed training of children in the use of firearms led directly to Cronwright being relieved of his position as a Brandwag leader.

The Brandwag was registered as a private company, and initially attracted many hundreds of volunteers. However in most areas the unit only lasted for a year or so, as the men generally all belonged to the local South African Army citizen force units (called commandos) which were organized on a countrywide basis. These men were for all practical purposes on military standby already, and the Brandwag served no real useful purpose for them.

The end result was that by the beginning of 1988 the Brandwag had ceased to exist except in name.

Jooste, who was again head of the Brandwag, was one of the men expelled from the AWB early in January 1989 over the Jani Allan affair. He went on to reform the Brandwag, which then operated a private security company in Pretoria under its own name and not attached to the AWB in any manner whatsoever.

During 1986 Terre'Blanche was on the road one evening to a public meeting in the town of Barbeton when he was stopped at a police roadblock just outside the town. The police officer

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in charge told him that information had been received by the security police that the ANC was planning to assassinate him that evening. The police thereupon accompanied Terre'Blanche that evening and guarded the entire meeting.

Nothing came of the ANC attack, but this incident caused the AWB to establish yet another security unit intended to be a full-time professional outfit. Thus Aquila (the Latin word for eagle) was created in April 1987 as a registered security company.

The sole director of the private company (called a closed corporation in South Africa) was Willem Olivier, former private secretary to assassinated Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd. Olivier joined the AWB in February 1986 and later that year Terre'Blanche announced at an AWB head council meeting that he was appointing Olivier as the movement's chief secretary, while Jan Groenewald, who had held that position until then, was made deputy leader. Olivier held this position until early in 1989, when he left the AWB.

Aquila was never officially part of the AWB organization, but always remained a private company, with Olivier merely granting the AWB the use of Aquila at the movement's meetings and for the personal protection of VIPs.

Although they had a central command structure, the local Aquila units operated independently. No Aquila membership lists as such were ever kept, and because of the localized nature of Aquila no final tally of members was ever recorded. Olivier estimates that fully-trained Aquila personnel never reached more than three hundred countrywide, while "part-time Aquilas"—those who attended half or none of the courses (and thus did not have emblems) totaled many hundreds more.

After Olivier left the movement, he withdrew the rights to use the Aquila name from the AWB, so that while Aquila itself was never officially disbanded, it legally no longer existed within the AWB.

Aquila was comprised of men above the age of eighteen years, who had to be prepared to go on training courses on farms in the Northern Transvaal. Several training camps were held on the farm of Manie Maritz, son of the Boer War general of the same name. Like all other registered security companies, Aquila members wore uniforms, and the only major difference was that the Aquila men were all volunteers who did the work part-time.

A candidate for Aquila had to achieve a certain standard of physical fitness and be able to pass tests in self defense before becoming a fully fledged member. A full member was entitled to wear two Aquila badges (an eagle with a long curved wingspan) on each collar, while an Aquila who had completed only half the course was entitled to wear only one emblem. The emblems were given out by Olivier personally to the men, although Terre'Blanche gave some out with Olivier's permission.

It soon became a common sight at AWB meetings to be met at the door by several big Aquila men who would search all people entering the meeting for weapons or explosives.

Although Aquila itself disappeared, some of its former members went on to form a new "security division" of the AWB, which was under former South African Police Brigadier T.J. "Red Russian" Swanepoel. Swanepoel earned notoriety as the policeman who directed the suppression of the 1976 Black riots in Soweto, and was subsequently banned from entering many foreign countries.

Early in 1990 the AWB announced that it was forming new "Commando units" under the leadership of long-time supporter (and police colonel) Servaas de Wet, who had resigned from the police only some eight months earlier. These commandos were called "Wenkommandos" (Winning Commandos) after a Boer commando which defeated the Zulus during the early part of

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the Great Trek. The Wenkommando was divided into six units: the Brandwagte (not to be confused with the earlier AWB unit by the same name), the commandos, the Ystergarde (Iron Guards), the dog unit, the women's unit, and the "Penkopkommando"—the youth unit.

Terre'Blanche inspecting a Wenkommando unit on Church Square, Pretoria, 1992.

The Brandwagte (Sentinels) were the already existing AWB branches across the country, which were to be transformed into auxiliary units, supposedly to provide "firsthand information" to the commando headquarters about ANC or other activities in their respective areas.

Communication channels were established to be used in the event of large scale ANC "invasions" or life threatening situations whereby the local commando could be called up at short notice. These Brandwagte were comprised of ordinary members of the AWB who were active in

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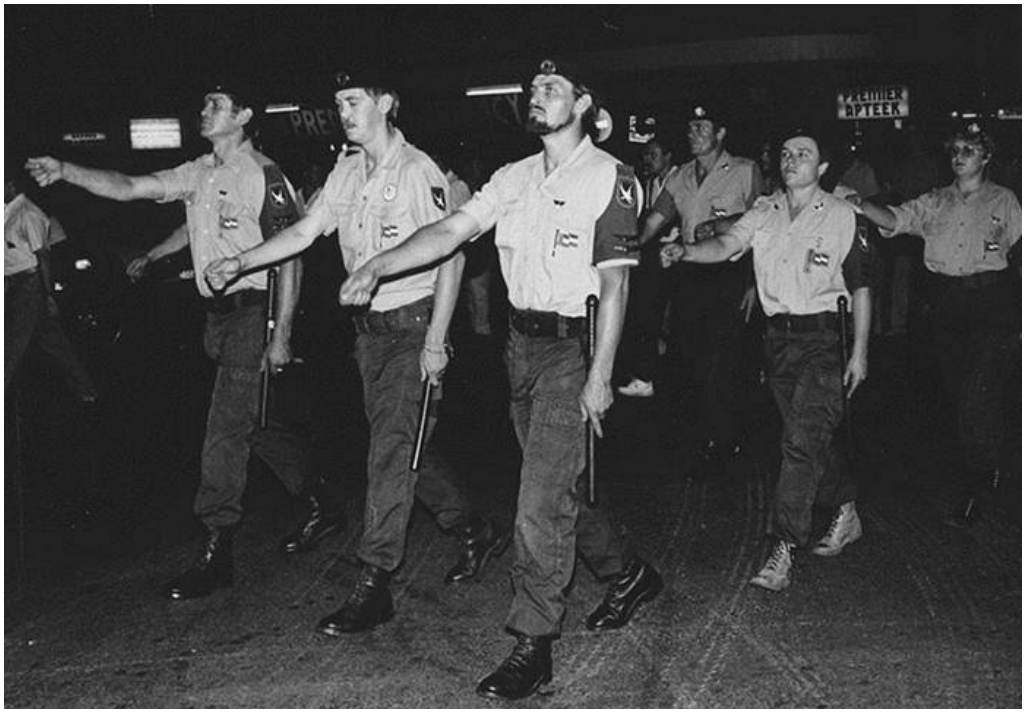
their local branch but who did not wear uniforms or partake in regular commando activity.

Above and below: Wenkommando units and their band march through Pretoria.



The commandos were members of the AWB who volunteered for training and were prepared to be called up in the case of an emergency. Originally it was planned to open commando training to all interested parties, but later it was decided to close membership to those who were AWB members only, as several individuals, amongst them one Gawie Volschenk from the Eastern Transvaal, joined and then left again, creating bad publicity.

The Wenkommandos engaged in much the same type of training as Aquila did, only on a much larger scale. It became common, for example, as happened on Saturday, March 10, 1990,

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for more than 150 men at one time to attend a training camp on Terre'Blanche's farm at Ventersdorp.

The commandos were divided into ranks based on the old Boer army structure and were most numerous in three areas-the Northern Transvaal, the Vaal Triangle and the Orange Free State. An innovation for the commandos was that they had their own band to which they could march.

Band members were also trained in basic drill and firearm handling. Estimates of total membership varied considerably, and on paper, at least, the Wenkommandos had between 55,000 and 60,000 men and women enlisted. A top secret police intelligence report on political violence circulated in government circles in mid 1992 said that at that stage the AWB had established 250 different Wenkommando units with a total estimated membership of some 15,000.

However, by 1997 the number of active Wenkommando members countrywide had dropped to a few thousand at most, with the vast majority of members preferring to hide their affiliations under the new dispensation. By 2008, the Wenkommando had vanished entirely.

The Ystergarde (Iron Guards) were drawn from the commandos by invitation only. Although the exact numbers involved were kept a secret, an estimate could be made by checking the numbers of men receiving rank. In this way seventeen captains and six lieutenants, for example, were given their rank at a single training camp held during March 1991. A final total number of several hundred Ystergarde men would be the most accurate estimate.

The Ystergarde were the elite of the commandos and served primarily as the officers' corps and instructors. They were also trained in specialist functions such as VIP protection and marksmanship.

The training was exceptionally arduous, worse in many ways than army training and lasting a minimum of a week at a time. They had to be proficient with all sorts of weapons as well as hand to hand combat and they also had to pass examinations on these topics before attaining rank. They could not be overweight, as they would not have passed the physical demands of the training course.

They wore black uniforms (and in public black balaclavas to protect their identities) to distinguish them from the ordinary commandos.

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The Ystergarde - 'Iron Guard' - the AWB's elite. It was from this group that the AWB was to launch its most serious assault on the handover process to the ANC, with all of the major bombings and attacks during the 1994 elections being committed by members of the black clad unit.

It was no coincidence that all of the AWB men arrested for their alleged roles in the most serious AWB bombing campaign in 1994 were all members of the Ystergarde.

The dog unit was first put on public display on May 1, 1991 in Welkom, where six dogs and their trainers showed that they were able to smell out drugs, explosives (firearm rounds), catch fleeing suspects and perform tricks with fire hoops and the like.

The women's unit, called the Rooivalke (Red Falcons) were used in a supportive role and were taught basic firearm drill, self defense and first aid. They numbered only a few dozen at the most.

The youth unit was under the control of Andries Terre'Blanche, Eugene's brother. Andries had thirty years experience as local army commando in Ventersdorp and was for years leader of the Voortrekker movement (the Afrikaans boy scouts) in Ventersdorp.

In 1992 the AWB announced that it had formed a parachute division as well, while in 1993 Terre'Blanche issued a press statement saying that he had been informed that "Revenge Units" consisting of AWB supporters had been formed who were prepared to carry out revenge type attacks for any attacks on Whites by Black terrorist groups.

Terre'Blanche said in his statement that he had only heard about such groups and did himself not know who they were-he just felt that it was his duty to warn Black terrorist groups that there were Whites who would retaliate.

An oft posed question was to what extent the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defense Force (SADF) consisted of AWB sympathizers, and what the chances were of sympathizers in these two forces ever taking up arms in support of the AWB's cause.

There were continual allegations that the AWB had large reservoirs of support in the SAP. The police themselves as early as 1982 issued a directive in the form of a telegram from security branch headquarters forbidding members of the force to become members or even supporters of the AWB, but this order had comparatively little effect upon the lower ranks in the force.

The telegram forbade policemen and women to become members or even "supporters of any organization that preaches violence (such as the AWB)." It must be remembered that a policeman's job anywhere in the world is not a liberal's job at the best of times, and especially in South Africa at that time, so a large number of conservatives congregated in the police. Amongst the lower ranks (captain and below), there was a lot of support for the AWB.

There were many examples of active and former policemen from all ranks playing a role in the activities of the AWB. Mention has already been made of Brigadier T.J. Swanepoel, Jan Groenewald, Terre'Blanche himself, Colonel Servaas de Wet, Piet Rudolph, and Colonel Arthur Cronwright—all of whom were at some stage in the police.

In April 1987, during a police raid on a building in downtown Johannesburg which housed the head offices of the largest Black trade union in South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), one of the riot policemen attending the scene stopped his four wheel drive vehicle outside the building and made a large AWB emblem on the hood of his vehicle with black insulation tape. A photographer from the left-wing *New Nation* newspaper, who happened to be inside the building during the raid, saw and photographed the vehicle, and the picture was published in that week's edition of the *New Nation.* Despite a senior police

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officer taking a statement and a copy of the picture from the photographer the policeman concerned was never prosecuted, just warned against doing such things in public again.

More than one reserve policeman, however, was dismissed from the force for involvement in the AWB, and several full-time members had disciplinary action taken against them because of their active involvement. After the Battle of Pietersburg, for example, many local policemen were transferred away from the district as a result of their overt (and covert) support for the AWB. The Pietersburg incident even saw the security police tapping the Pietersburg police station telephones in order to find out exactly which policemen were involved with the AWB.

Early in 1985 a police riot unit detachment opened fire on a large crowd of Blacks who were marching on a small Eastern Cape Town. Several Blacks were killed in the incident, which provoked a national and international uproar. On the evening of May 10, 1985, the AWB held its by then customary annual meeting in the huge Pretoria City Hall. As was usual for the movement by this time as well, the hall was packed to overflowing with between four to five thousand people in attendance.

During his speech, Terre'Blanche said that in light of the uproar following the Eastern Cape shootings, the AWB had decided to come to the defense of the police. Upon completion of his speech, Terre'Blanche read out a motion of thanks and congratulations to the SAP. The motion was carried unanimously by the crowd, and Terre'Blanche then led the crowd in an impromptu march through the streets to the Pretoria Central police station.

Above: Terre'Blanche is carried on the shoulders of policemen after a march in support of the SAP in Pretoria, 1985. The march pictured below.

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At the station Terre'Blanche handed over the motion to a Colonel J. Loots, who promised that the letter would be passed on to the commissioner of police, General Johan Coetzee (the same one who was head of the security police when that branch arrested Terre'Blanche in 1982 for arms contraventions) the next day. Terre'Blanche gave a short speech and was then picked up and carried around on the shoulders of a group of young policemen. This symbolic act was the cause of much criticism of the police from the media.

Having forbidden full-time serving policemen from becoming members of the force, the government then turned its attention to the police reservists who were part-time voluntary policemen who acted as a backup for their local police force.

In July 1987 a circular was sent round to the members of the police reserve in the Northern Transvaal, the traditional stronghold of the right wing in the country. The circular instructed reservists to sign an attached document saying they were not members of the AWB.

Added to this was the instruction that if they were members of the AWB, they were to choose either the police or the AWB. Some refused to sign and resigned from the force, while others defied the instruction and told senior officers they would have to be forced out of the reserve.

Seven reservists in the Northern Transvaal were subsequently expelled. The circular was then spread out to the entire country. Realizing that steps were being taken against his supporters in the police, Terre'Blanche circumvented disciplinary moves against policemen who were members of the AWB by announcing at a public meeting in Krugersdorp in September 1987 that he was honorably discharging all policemen from the AWB. This tactic worked quite well, and since then there were only isolated incidents of steps against AWB activists.

In a 1988 information piece the AWB itself put the question of police/AWB relationships this way: "The left-wing NP's attempts to neutralize the AWB's influence in the police force and the army is doomed to failure, because it is our sons and daughters, AWB supporters' husbands who are the ones fighting the enemy. They come for the greatest part out of AWB and CP houses and they know they can expect nothing from the NP government but that they can always rely upon the support of the AWB. The sons and daughters in the security services come from the Boere-volk, a volk which protects the country while the NP's left-wing supporters (big business) can become even richer.

"Does (the then state president) Mr. P.W. Botha and (the then minister of Law and Order) Mr. Adriaan Vlok really think these sons will follow them to their dead-end street of Black domination? If they expect this, then they are in for a rude shock."

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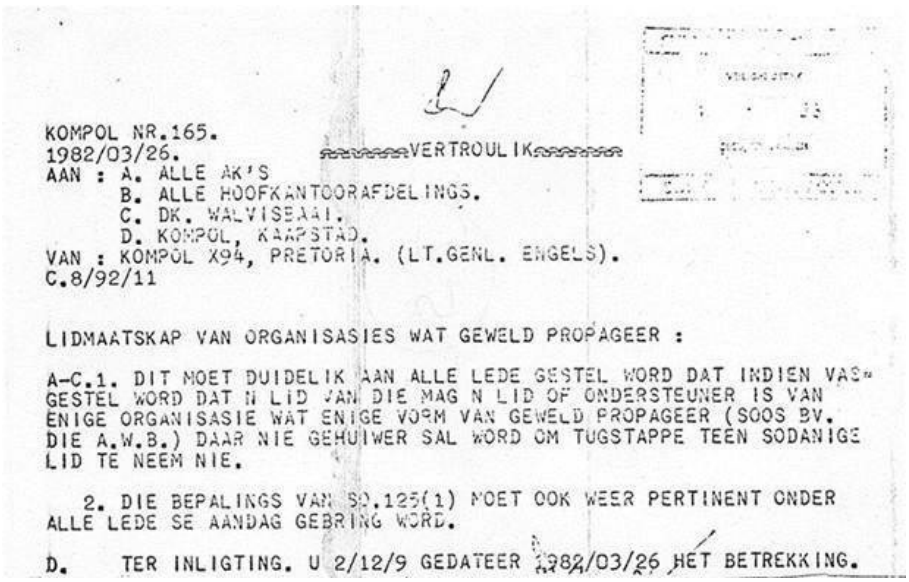

KOMPOL NR.165.
1982/03/26. VERTROULIK
AAN : A. ALLE AK'S
B. ALLE HOOFKANTOORAFDELINGS.
C. DK. WALVISBAAI.
D. KOMPOL, KAAPSTAD.
VAN : KOMPOL X94, PRETORIA. (LT.GENL. ENGELS).
C.8/92/11

LIDMAATSKAP VAN ORGANISASIES WAT GEWELD PROPAGEER :

A-C.1. DIT MOET DUIDELIK AAN ALLE LEDE GESTEL WORD DAT INDIEN VAS-GESTEL WORD DAT N LID VAN DIE MAG N LID OF ONDERSTEUNER IS VAN ENIGE ORGANISASIE WAT ENIGE VORM VAN GEWELD PROPAGEER (SOOS BV. DIE A.W.B.) DAAR NIE GEHUIWER SAL WORD OM TUGSTAPPE TEEN SODANIGE LID TE NEEM NIE.

2. DIE BEPALINGS VAN SO.125(1) MOET OOK WEER PERTINENT ONDER ALLE LEDE SE AANDAG GEBRING WORD.

D. TER INLIGTING. U 2/12/9 GEDATEER 1982/03/26 HET BETREKKING.

A copy of the police telegram which forbade members of the SA police from joining the AWB, and right, wishful thinking on the part of the AWB. In 1994, the police and army remained loyal to the then South African government, and took part in a crackdown on the AWB's activities, with a state of emergency being declared in the Western Transvaal being imposed by the police.

Although the AWB (and the right wing in general) did have strong support in the police under the old system, this is no longer the case. The single greatest reason why the South African police never at any stage rallied to the support of the right wing in South Africa is simply a question of race—even in the 1980s, some 60 percent of the ppolice force was black, and the ratio of whites in the force dwindled from then on. By 2007, for example, only 10 percent of the police force was still white, and this figure decreases each year.

Much the same can be said of the South African Defense Force. Of the permanent force, over 85 percent of the SADF troops were nonwhite in 2007, and once again this proportion can only increase, not decrease.

However, there was another aspect to the army which deserves attention. The army was divided up into permanent members and socalled "citizen force" commandos. This commando system entailed the division of the country into a number of geographically defined regions, which then fell under the military control of a local commander. The members of these commandos were all adult White males in the area who were of military age and who had already completed their compulsory call-up period of national service. Such men were liable for call-up periods of one month per year with their local commando.

Although this system was subsequently done away with, there still remains a large reservoir of White males who have had extensive military training, although they are rapidly aging.

It is interesting to note that as early as mid 1990 the previous National Party government had already started ordering rural army commando units to draw in their weapons, allegedly for "safekeeping."

In the Eastern Transvaal commando of Steelepoort, for example, the entire army commando, consisting of some several hundred men, joined the AWB's Brandwag in 1985 en masse when that organization was first established. The Steelepoort army commando was one of the commandos which had its weapons withdrawn.

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The AWB had a stronghold over the farming community (Terre'Blanche himself was a farmer) and of course all the farming areas—without exception—were represented by the Conservative Party in parliament.

The AWB's potential for violence was correctly summed up by Zulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said that the AWB's potential for terrorism "would make the ANC's best look like amateurish bungling." Buthelezi was to be proven right.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE WHITE WOLF

In Pretoria there was an entire block taken up by a massive monument to the second National Party prime minister, J.G. Strijdom. This monument, known as Strijdom Square, was to gain international notoriety on November 16, 1988.

That particular day started out no different than any other day in Pretoria—hot and dry, with the city center filled to the brim with shoppers and workers. It had become common for many Blacks—workers and unemployed alike—to use their lunchtime breaks to sit in the parks and other pleasant open areas in the city.

One of these areas was Strijdom Square, which had even been decked out with benches and nooks precisely for such leisure purposes. So it was that the square had its usual contingent of ordinary Blacks sitting around, talking, eating, playing cards, and some even sleeping, on that day.

All of a sudden a White man, dressed in a camouflage uniform, walked onto the square from the southern side. As he walked onto the square, some bystanders noticed that he had drawn a gun. Only a few noticed the AWB belt buckle he was wearing—the camouflage looked like ordinary police issue (it was).

Without warning the man started shooting at the Blacks standing, sitting, and walking around him. As he said later: “I shot one in the stomach. He was eating a hamburger. He just looked at me and laughed, so I shot him again.”

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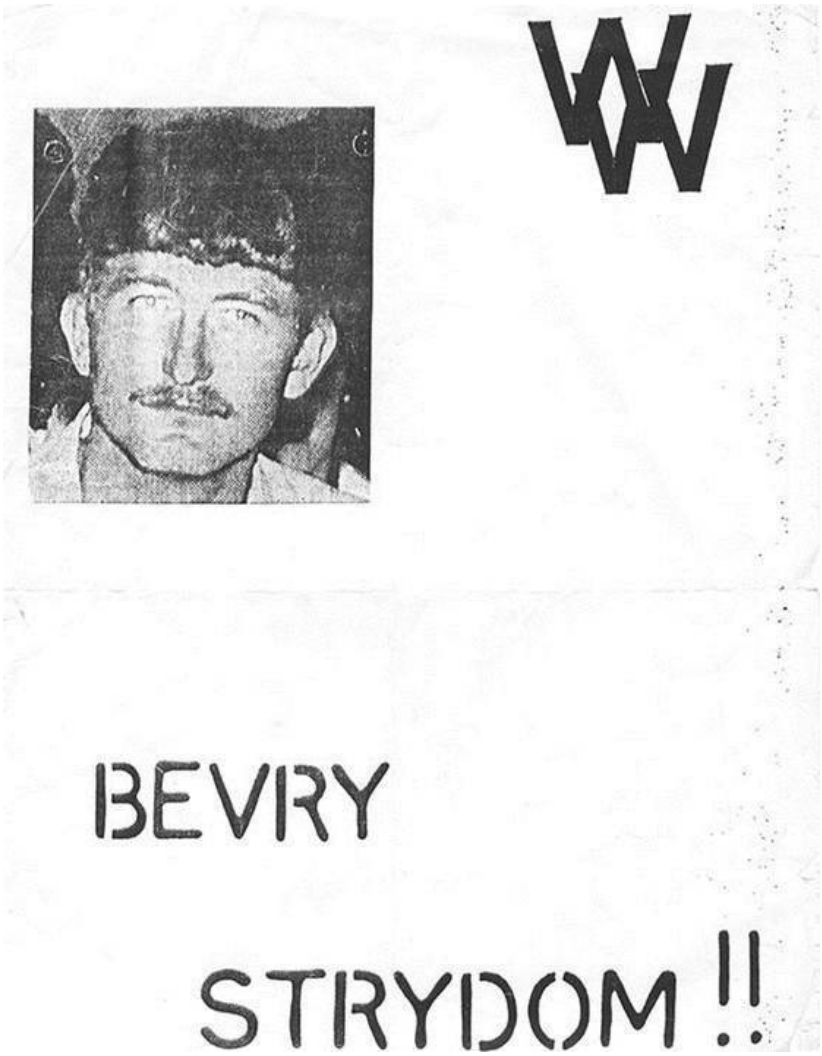

The White Wolf, Barend Strydom. A leaflet distributed while he was in prison, calling for his release.

The White man moved north across the square, still shooting indiscriminately. One of his victims was killed on the side of the road—a municipal street sweeper, killed by a bullet in the torso.

Finally the man got to the northern side of the square and went towards some Indian owned shops facing the road running past the square. There he shot one Indian store owner who had come out to see what the commotion was, and thereafter he went into one of the shops to reload.

As this was the center of Pretoria (which has always had the highest concentration of civil servants in the country), the police had not been long in reacting, and it was while the man was in the Indian shop reloading that police managed to arrest him. He did not try and shoot the White policeman who arrested him, telling the officer that he “could not shoot White men.”

When the man was questioned by police, it was established that the man was twenty-three years old, named Barend Hendrik Strydom, and a member of the AWB. It later transpired that Strydom was the sole member of a shadowy group called the “White Wolves” which had sent various threats to leading liberals in the country, and which had claimed responsibility for a few minor incidents such as the

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fire bombing of left-wing church offices (an act which many years later was admitted to by members of the security police, who then tried to blame the right wing).

Strydom, a former policeman who once while on duty had hoisted the Four Color flag instead of the South African Flag outside his police station, had been the subject of a security police investigation while still a member of the force as a result of his right-wing views.

While on duty he once attended a car accident where a Black motorist had been decapitated in the smash and Strydom persuaded one of his friends to take a picture of him holding the Black man's head.

Strydom then wrote a caption reading "ANC beware" at the bottom of the picture and put it up in his police barracks room. This picture, along with large amounts of AWB literature, was confiscated by security police when they searched his barracks room during their investigation of him while he was still in the force.

Strydom was then forced to take his discharge from the police, but not before he had sent a long press statement to all the newspapers claiming that he had been victimized because of his political views. No newspapers printed the statement, regarding him as a crank.

The whole country was shaken by the subsequent shootings, which eventually resulted in seven deaths. The government reacted by banning the much smaller right-wing organization the White Liberation Movement (BBB), which in fact had nothing to do with the shootings or Strydom, but did not have a large enough following to really matter, and which provided proof for those on the outside that the government was prepared to act against the right wing.

While in detention Strydom claimed to be leader of the White Wolves—a claim which did not have any substance to it. The White Wolves did not exist as a formally structured organization with signed up membership lists or cards, but rather as disparate individuals who shared roughly the same ideological basis.

Because of this it was virtually impossible to pin down any other "members" of the White Wolves, although there were other incidents after Strydom's arrest which were perpetrated in the name of the White Wolves, such as racist pamphlets being handed out to Blacks in Pretoria, calling Blacks "kaffirs," and threatening them with death should they try to interrupt a rebel English cricket tour taking place at the time.

Barend Strydom's father, Nic, was a longtime AWB supporter. Here he can be seen, second from the right, in this picture of a rally in 1984.

There were also two death threats sent to the then State President F.W. de Klerk, written in

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stencil writing (and posted in Boksburg) which were claimed to be from the White Wolves.

Strydom was brought to trial in early 1989, and charged with murder. At first he refused to participate in the trial, saying that he did not recognize the authority of the court to try him, adding that the then co-leader of the anti-apartheid Democratic Party in South Africa, Denis Worrall, was a communist and should also be arrested.

He did however later take part in the court proceedings and a sensational trial thereupon followed. Strydom made the most of the opportunity to astound observers with remarks such as “Blacks are not human” and other comments. It also transpired during the court proceedings that Strydom had carried out a “trial run” for the shootings some three days earlier, when he had shot dead a black woman at a shantytown near the town of De Deur, to see if he had the “ability to kill someone,” as he later told the police.

"Hang Mandela, Free Barend" reads this poster at a right-wing rally on Church Square, 1991. Strydom is a follower of the Christian Identity doctrine, which believes that the European peoples are the true Jews. The "Lion of Judah" can be seen in the center of this banner, identifying it as originating with one of the CI sects in South Africa, the "Daughters of Zion."

The trial was attended by a large number of AWB supporters and others including Boerestaat party leader Robert van Tonder, who Strydom delightedly shook hands with across the dock barriers. Another more remarkable visitor to the court was a man dressed in a Nazi SS uniform—no one was sure if he was for real or just joking.

Strydom’s parents attended the trial accompanied by a phalanx of men in suits wearing AWB Aquila insignia, who were later to feature prominently in court cases themselves.

Smiling throughout the trial, and showing no remorse whatsoever, Strydom only bowed his head briefly when the death sentence was passed on him. Right of leave to appeal was also turned down. Strydom’s death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in 1991, and, in an uncanny twist which only could have happened in South Africa, was released from prison on September 28, 1992, under terms of a blanket amnesty for all prisoners who had committed politically motivated crimes negotiated between the South African government and the African National Congress.

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Terre'Blanche did not react to the shooting incident itself until the weekend after, when, in a large article written by *Sunday Times* journalist, Jani Allan, he condemned the massacre. Under the heading "Do not blame us—this man acted on his own" the article quoted Terre'Blanche as saying that Strydom had acted on his own.

Categorically denying that the AWB was responsible for the act, Terre'Blanche claimed that the government was to blame for creating a political climate in which violence flourished. There is little doubt that this article (in the largest circulation South African newspaper) did much to prevent the AWB from being directly blamed for the Strijdom Square incident, even though Strydom was an active AWB member who had achieved a special award for helping to hoist a huge AWB propaganda banner on the Voortrekker Monument earlier in 1988.

Barend Strydom was part of an AWB team who put this huge AWB banner on the Voortrekker Monument in 1987.

* The bust of JG Strijdom on the square was smashed in 2001 when a portion of the open space (built over an underground parking garage) collapsed. In 2006, the square was renamed Lilian Ngoyi Square after an ANC-aligned anti-Apartheid activist from the 1950s.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN: UNTAG AND THE ORDER OF DEATH

The AWB was also active in South West Africa (now known as Namibia) — Terre'Blanche addressed many gatherings there and a local AWB group under the leadership of veteran right-wing politician, Hendrik van As, was set up, complete with offices in the capital of Windhoek. The AWB in South West Africa was more commonly known by its local name the Wit Weerstandsbeweging (White Resistance Movement) due to the large number of German settlers in the country who were also members.

This AWB office closed permanently in December 1989 when it was apparent that the country was inevitably heading for a SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) government and would soon be renamed Namibia.

During the run up to Namibia's first one person one vote elections, many rumors and threats of violence from the White right wing were heard—these included a number of statements from a mysterious organization called the Wit Perd (White Horse) and from AWB members. The loud talk was dismissed as bravado by many inside the territory—until the evening of August 24, 1989.

On that day a United Nations Tactical Assistance Group (UNTAG) base at the Northern Namibian town of Outjo was machine gunned and had several hand grenades hurled at it from a passing car. One Black Namibian guard was killed in the attack.

Police acted fairly quickly and arrested five White men in connection with the incident—Leonard Veenendaal, Darryl Stopforth, Arthur Archer, Craig Barker, and Horst Klenz. Klenz was a German citizen who had been staying in South Africa since December 1985.

Veenendaal was Johannesburg leader of the AWB, while Stopforth was also a prominent member of the Johannesburg group. Veenendaal was also married to Barker's sister.

Stopforth was one of the men who carried Terre'Blanche shoulder high from the Krugersdorp courtroom when the latter was acquitted on the charges relating to the Paardekraal incident, while Veenendaal was one of the uniformed guards who appeared at Terre'Blanche's press conference following the court case. (Veenendaal first won local renown several months earlier when he led a right-wing demonstration in the middle of an ultra-liberal Johannesburg suburb against moves to have the only indoor swimming pool in that city opened to all races in July 1989.)

Along with the five men, police seized an arsenal of relatively sophisticated weapons—R1 rifles (the South African copy of Belgian FN rifles), R4 rifles (the South African version of the AK-47), rifle grenades, and ammunition, which were going to be used in future attacks.

All the men appeared in the Otjiwarongo magistrate's court on September 27. All the charges against Barker were dropped that day and he returned to Johannesburg, while the others were remanded in custody. Archer then agreed to become a state witness, and charges were provisionally withdrawn against him as well.

Another man, Johan Coetzee from Pretoria, was then later detained but he too agreed to become a state witness. Coetzee had been kicked out of the AWB in September 1989 because of suspicion that he was a government spy. The three remaining men—Veenendaal, Klenz, and Stopforth—again appeared in the Otjiwarongo court on December 4, 1989, when they were finally officially charged with murder.

The men were being held in police cells in Windhoek, but because the alleged crimes had been committed in Outjo they had to appear in that district's court—some 270 kilometers from Windhoek.

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As the men left the courtroom that day, Veenendaal said he had to go to the toilet. Unbeknownst to the two policemen guarding him, a pistol had been hidden in the cistern of the toilet earlier by an accomplice. Veenendaal hid the pistol on his person, and then emerged from the toilet acting normally. The men were then put into the back of a police van for the long trip back to Windhoek.

About ten kilometers outside Otjiwarongo the men banged on the glass partition separating the back of the van and the driver's cab, indicating that they wanted to relieve themselves. Police constable Ricardo van Wyk stopped the vehicle and allowed the men to get out.

He and constable Johan Boois were then overpowered by the prisoners, who were aided by two men in a vehicle which had been following the police van since Otjiwarongo.

In the ensuing struggle, constable van Wyk was shot in the lower abdomen. He was later to die from the wound. His companion was forced into the back of the van after both their firearms had been taken from them, and then the van was driven on for about another thirty kilometres before it was abandoned.

The three fugitives and their two accomplices then disappeared into thin air. An intensive land and air search of the vast territory was immediately set up following the discovery of the escape, but to no avail.

Only in February 1990 was an AWB man from Benoni on the East Rand, one Henk Bredenhann, arrested and held by the police in connection with the escape. Bredenhann had disappeared some time before the escape, and had telephoned his father in February from Cape Town to tell him that he was coming home by train and that he (his father) must pick him up at the Johannesburg station. The police, who were listening to Bredenhann's father's telephone, then managed to arrest Bredenhann before his father was able to pick him up. Bredenhann was however released from custody with no preconditions three months later, the police admitting they had no real evidence.

Both Stopforth and Veenendaal surfaced several months later in Johannesburg, thumbing their noses at the law by giving interviews to local newspapers and posing for pictures. The Namibian government did put in a request for the extradition of the three men, and this request dragged on inconclusively for several years, until finally the order came through to send the men for trial to Namibia.

By this stage however, the men and their families had managed to flee to the United Kingdom, where they applied for political asylum, telling the British authorities that they had in fact been military intelligence operatives working under instructions from the apartheid government's military authority, and that they were now being persecuted for having followed orders. The British authorities granted the men asylum.

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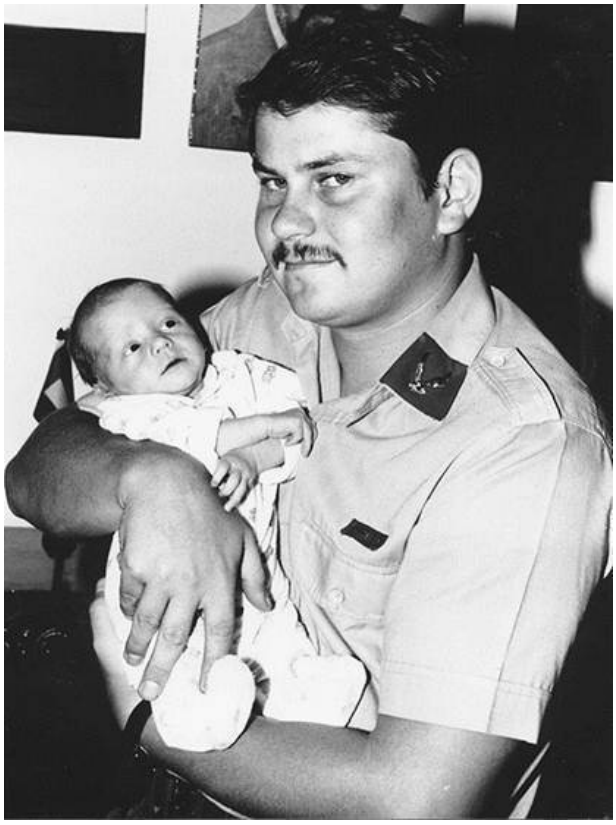

Leonard Veenendal, the fearless AWB leader in Johannesburg, poses with one of his children after his escape from South West Africa.

On December 5, 1989, the day after the dramatic escape in South West Africa, the South African police announced that they had arrested five AWB men inside South Africa. The five men—Dawie de Beer and Fanie Goosen (both of Vereeniging), Cornelius Lottering of Sandton, and Cornelius van Zyl and Hendrik Binneman (both of Randburg), were all detained under terms of the Internal Security Act.

Investigations showed that the men had loosely named themselves “the Order of Death” and that they were all former members of the Aquila wing of the AWB.

Goosen had acted as one of Terre’Blanche’s bodyguards during the latter’s appearance at the Donkerhoek celebrations in December 1988. All the men had however left the AWB after the Paardekraal incident, disillusioned with Terre’Blanche’s leadership.

A large arsenal of weapons was discovered in the Sandton home of Lottering—they included a sawn off 12 bore shotgun fitted with an infrared light, three ordinary shotguns, four pistols (one with a telescopic sight attached), a fully automatic 9mm hand carbine, a crossbow with arrows, a blow pipe with poisoned darts, three two-way radios, thousands of rounds of ammunition, four smoke grenades, nineteen tear gas grenades, two mortars, and an assortment of hunting knives and military camping equipment.

Most of the weapons were unlicensed, and appeared to have been stolen from military stores. Explosives—dynamite sticks and detonators—were also amongst the arsenal. A “hit list” was found, on which the names of F.W. de Klerk, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Defence Minister Magnus Malan, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok appeared. Also appearing on the list were the

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names of Jani Allan,

Terre'Blanche, and well-known anti-apartheid activists bishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Frank Chikane (secretary of the South African Council of Churches), and Allan Boesak (who was later to become the ANC's Western Cape leader). Coloured Labor party leader Allan Hendrickse had also been earmarked by the group for elimination.

The police had been aware of the activities of the group for about eighteen months prior to their arrest, and had managed to infiltrate the group via a sixth unidentified person, who was in fact a full-time undercover policeman. Although in possession of tape recordings of many of the group's meetings, the police only finally decided to act after two of the men had gone for sniper sharpshooting practice sessions on a farm in the Transvaal Lowveld.

The men also allegedly underwent underwater diving training, apparently preparing for an assault on F.W. de Klerk's house on the banks of the Vaal River. Another bizarre aim of the group included plans to intimidate right-wing leaders into working together by attacking their possessions—with specific reference being made to killing HNP leader Jaap Marais's fine collection of budgerigars in order to make him agree to a unified right-wing front.

Both Lottering and de Beer had acted as bodyguards to the parents of "White Wolf" Barend Strydom during that trial.

The five men all appeared in court on February 1, 1990. Two of the men, Goosen and Lottering, appeared on eight different charges—including murder, malicious damage to property, attempted intimidation, robbery with aggravating circumstances and the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. According to the court indictment, the two men were responsible for the blast outside journalist Jani Allan's flat building "The Birches" in Sandton during the night of July 14, 1989.

The murder and robbery charges related to two incidents in which a Black man had been robbed and killed, and a robbery of a liquor shop in Vanderbijl Park. The purpose behind the liquor shop robbery remained unclear and appeared to have been done for self gain.

Van Zyl and Binneman were charged with housebreaking with the intent to steal, theft, and conspiracy to commit sabotage. Van Zyl was also charged with the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. They were refused bail.

Ironically enough De Beer, who was the leader of the group, was charged only with the illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition, and was granted R1,000 bail, which was paid by Barend Strydom's father, who was present in person at the court.

On March 8, 1990, Goosen and Lottering were sent by police van to the Rand supreme court to arrange pro-deo defense lawyers. As the police van stopped in Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, outside the court buildings, the two men managed to force open one of the panels in the compartment where they were being held, and escaped into the crowd in broad daylight. The two escapees then rejoined the right-wing underground, linking up with the Orde Boerevolk (see chapter sixteen).

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN: THE ORDE BOEREVOLK

One of the more dramatic organizations to have grown out of the AWB was the Orde Boerevolk, set up by longtime AWB member and activist Piet Rudolph in late 1989–1990. This organization was responsible for a large number of violent incidents in 1990, and was a direct result of the unbanning of the ANC and South African Communist Party at the beginning of that year.

The name "Orde Boerevolk" (Orde is the Afrikaans spelling of "order") was taken by Rudolph from a right-wing book published in the United States called *The Turner Diaries.* This book is about a fictional White right-wing armed uprising in that country and had at its core a secret organization called "The Order." An American right-winger, Robert Matthews, and a number of other militant American right-wingers formed such an organization in 1982 after reading *The Turner Diaries*, and carried out a number of terrorist acts in preparation for what they were hoping would be a race war in the United States.

The fact that Rudolph also named his organization the "Order" (he did so quite independently of Matthews' organization, and indeed Rudolph said later he had never heard of Matthews) gives *The Turner Diaries* the distinction of being the only fiction book to inspire two active armed right-wing groups in different parts of the world.

In March 1990, at an AWB public meeting, two young South African air force conscripts, one named Francois Van Rensburg, approached AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and said that they could, with the necessary help, steal a large number of weapons from the air force headquarters at which they worked.

Terre'Blanche immediately referred them to Rudolph, who was also present at the same meeting. The two young men then approached Rudolph, and between them was born the till then largest arms theft in South African history.

On the evening of Saturday April 15, 1990, Rudolph, who was then deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party, led a daring raid on the South African air force head office's armory in Pretoria. Rudolph and a number of accomplices (some of whom were ever identified, even by the police) drove into the courtyard of the air force headquarters in Church Street in a genuine air force bus. The driver, a national serviceman, was one of those who was originally in on the plot. Rudolph and his accomplices lay flat on the floor of the bus so that the sentry standing guard duty outside the building did not see any occupants in the bus.

Once safely inside the building courtyard, Rudolph and his accomplices went to the fourth and fifth floors of the building, passing a further two sentries on the way who were also part of the plot. A duplicate key (which had been painstakingly made with plaster cast imprints of the original) for the armories on those floors was used to gain access to the weapons' safe.

Sixty-eight firearms were removed, including pistols, pump action shotguns, R5 assault rifles and one light machine gun. Two cases of ammunition—containing many thousands of rounds—were also removed. Putting the arms into brown army kitbags, Rudolph and accomplices then took the weapons back down to the bus, which was then driven out as if nothing had happened. Rudolph and his men once again lay flat on the floor of the bus along with their booty.

Once outside, the weapons were transferred into three separate vans and transported to a small holding belonging to Rudolph confidante Willem Boshoff outside Krugersdorp on the West Rand. From there they were moved to a small holding belonging to another Rudolph confidante, Hilton Hofmeyer, near the East Rand town of Bapsfontein.

They were finally removed from this place by AWB men Kallie Bredenhann and his son

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Henk, and from there were distributed piecemeal amongst right-wingers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Many of the firearms are missing to this day and have never been recovered.

With the discovery of the theft early on Tuesday morning—the theft had been carried out over the long Easter weekend—the sentries were immediately questioned. The young men soon confessed to their part in the plot and were charged. Information gained from the men took the police to another man, Gene Taylor, well known in Pretoria's right-wing circles. Taylor was one of the first arrested, although he was later to be granted amnesty.

Cross-questioning of the national servicemen standing guard that night also led the police to identify Francois Van Rensburg as the man initially behind the arms theft, and he was arrested at his airforce barracks by the police. He would also later be granted amnesty for his role in the affair.

Before the police had managed to circulate the fact amongst all their personnel that it was Rudolph who had led the arms raid, he had in fact visited a policeman in the security police headquarters in Pretoria on the Tuesday following the weekend raid. The ridiculous situation then arose where policemen on one floor of the building were preparing a massive manhunt for Rudolph—while at the same time he was in the exact same building on a different floor.

Only once Rudolph had left the building was the person he had been visiting informed that Rudolph was wanted for the arms theft. By then Rudolph had of course disappeared and it would be months before the police caught up with him again.

Rudolph then telephoned the *Pretoria News* newspaper and admitted to his role in the theft, saying that the "war" had now begun and that he was going to arm "Boer commandos" for this purpose with the weapons he had stolen.

A few days after this theft the armory of the army base at Wemmerpan in Southern Johannesburg was also raided. Several R1 rifles and pistols were stolen in this heist.

Shortly thereafter a bomb exploded at the house in Pretoria where the peace treaty ending the Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902 was signed. The house, which is maintained as a museum, was extensively damaged in the attack which was carried out with commercial explosives (that is, dynamite which is commonly used in South African mines).

Three men were arrested by the police in connection with the incident—one of them being Jan Meyer, the former fireman who had since been appointed to be Terre'Blanche's personal secretary.

Shortly thereafter a bomb flattened the offices of the National Union of Mineworkers in the Western Transvaal town of Rustenburg. This act was, it later transpired, carried out by one of the first Orde Boerevolk cells which Rudolph had set up after making off with the air force weapons. Rudolph had in fact stayed for quite a while at the house of a sympathizer in Rustenburg while the police manhunt for him went on. He had however left Rustenburg by the time that the union bombing took place.

Apparently not satisfied with the publicity his telephone call to the Pretoria newspaper and the blasts at Melrose House and in Rustenburg had attracted, Rudolph then produced a dramatic "war video" in which he officially declared war on the South African government, the ANC, and the South African Communist Party.

The twenty-eight minute video showed Rudolph seated at a table in front of a huge Four Color flag, flanked on either side by four masked men, two of whom were holding R4 assault rifles, presumably taken from the air force arms heist. On the table in front of him Rudolph placed several right-wing books and one of the pistols stolen from the air force.

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Above and below: Stills from the famous Orde Boerevolk video, featuring Piet Rudolph, 1990.

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Three copies of the video were posted out in Johannesburg— one to the *Beeld* newspaper (which used the story on its front page in dramatic fashion); one to an independent radio station (Radio 702) and a third to Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party. The video which was sent to Beeld reached that newspaper's offices on June 18, 1990.

In his message on the video Rudolph said there "was no longer time to talk" and that it "is better to die in glory than to live in disgrace."

He urged viewers to "take the enemy with blood and bricks" (an Afrikaans expression which can be translated figuratively as "blood and fire").

Rudolph also urged people to "avoid like the plague those who say wait for the right moment" (an obvious reference to CP leader Treurnicht who had spoken out against Rudolph's actions), saying that "they are nothing but a block around the legs. They will wait until it is too late. Urge those who talk of fighting and shooting to do so now. All we need is about five hundred Boers who are prepared to give their lives on the altar of our ideal to ensure success." Copies of the video were then circulated widely in right-wing circles across the country.

Within days, Rudolph's call to arms was heeded. On the evening of June 23, 1990, two National Party offices in Johannesburg were bombed. The blasts, both caused by commercial explosives, occurred in the dead of night at the Johannesburg head office of the NP in Auckland Park, just next to the Rand Afrikaans University, and at the Florida constituency offices of the then Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis. Extensive damage was caused to both premises.

A number of blasts then occurred in quick succession. On June 29, 1990, a Jewish Democratic Party Johannesburg City Councilor, Clive Gilbert, had his home bombed in another midnight attack. On July 1, 1990, Gilbert's business premises in Highlands North (also in Johannesburg) were bombed, while on the same day a little used synagogue in the Johannesburg Southern suburb of Rosettenville was bombed and defaced with swastikas and slogans such as "Jews = ANC" and "Prepare for War." Gilbert later joined the ANC and in so doing became one of that organization's first city councilors in Johannesburg.

On July 2, 1990, a National Party Johannesburg City Councilor, Jan Burger, had his house, situated in the Southern Johannesburg suburb of Turffontein, bombed. Burger was a former senior member of the city's management committee and as such had been at the forefront of the liberalization of the city.

Two days later, on July 4, 1990, the Johannesburg city center offices of a left-wing Afrikaans weekly newspaper, the *Vrye Weekblad*, were damaged in a nighttime bomb attack.

The next day, July 5, 1990, a huge dynamite blast flattened the offices of the Black militant ANC-supporting National Union of Mineworkers in the staunchly conservative mining town of Carletonville.

On Friday, July 6, 1990, a powerful bomb went off at a crowded Black taxi stand in Johannesburg, injuring twenty-seven people. The bomb had been hidden in a concrete rubbish bin, which had absorbed much of the blast, otherwise many more would have been injured. It was only after this last blast that anybody claimed responsibility.

Two days after the taxi stand explosion a group calling itself the "White Liberation Army" telefaxed an anonymous statement to a news agency and several newspapers claiming responsibility for the attack.

Referring to Blacks in extremely derogatory terms, the statement also threatened the lives of the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and the head of the ANC's armed wing, Chris Hani, whom the statement described as a "kaffir ape." The statement warned that the blast would not be the last.

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The police had not been sleeping while these attacks were occurring. Starting on the morning of July 6, 1990, they had steadily been arresting AWB and former AWB members in the greater Johannesburg area on suspicion of complicity in the events.

Eventually nine people were detained in the first swoop—David Rootenberg (a former AWB burgher council leader in Vereeniging), Leonard Veenendaal and Darryl Stopforth (who had in the meantime resurfaced in Johannesburg), Lodewyk Mienie, Piet Bester (a former member of the AWB who had joined a breakaway group called the Boere Weerstandbeweging or "Boer Resistance Movement"), Leon van Rensburg (the former West Rand AWB burgher council leader), Craig Barker, Arthur Archer (both of whom had been arrested along with Veenendaal and Stopforth in South West Africa the previous year as well), and an Italian, Enrico Francicco.

Francicco was released within a few days without any charges being laid against him after he had voluntarily given the police a statement.

One of the arrested men, David Rootenberg, was in fact an orphan who had been raised as a Jew by his Jewish adoptive parents who had given him the middle name of "Israel." After Rootenberg had joined the AWB, he had renounced his adopted religion.

The police crackdown, which began at 4 a.m., saw squads of policemen armed with submachine guns arrest Veenendaal and Stopforth in a flat in Southern Johannesburg and search the homes of David Rootenberg and that of Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder in Randburg. What the police did not establish was that one of Veenendaal's comrades from the attack on the UNTAG base and subsequent escape from police custody in South West Africa, Horst Klenz, had also been active with the Order Boerevolk. Klenz at one stage even provided a car which had been stolen from the United Nations in Namibia for use by Rudolph. Klenz remained free until he was at last betrayed by a government agent, Piet Bester—the same one who was "arrested" along with Veenendaal and Rootenberg in the Johannesburg crackdown described above, who drove with the German into a police roadblock in the Western Transvaal.

Klenz, Veenendaal and Stopforth were all given bail after several months in prison. Klenz however did not adhere to the bail conditions, and went underground once more. The next time anything was heard of him was on March 14, 1994, when he and three other Germans were involved in a shootout with a police patrol to the east of Pretoria. In that shootout, one of the Germans, Thomas Kunst, was killed, and the second, Stephan Rays, injured. Klenz was later arrested by the police and held without bail.

While the bomb blasts and subsequent arrests were being carried out, a number of other related events had occurred:

- four of the young national service men who had helped Rudolph enter the air force building appeared in court on theft charges and were released on bail;

-two White men were arrested for a "White Wolf" style killing of two Black men on a deserted road outside Pretoria on July 5, 1990;

- three White men, one of whom was a confirmed AWB member, were arrested in the Johannesburg suburb of Yeoville for the possession of dynamite, thirtynine hand grenades, and three claymore mines; an AWB member;

- mine worker, Hendrik Steyn, was detained in connection with a blast at a National Union of Mineworkers office in the Orange Free State town of Welkom; and

- four men, two of whom were members of the local AWB burgher council, were arrested in the Eastern Transvaal town of Witbank for the possession of explosives, which included numerous homemade hand grenades.

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The sudden series of arrests was widely interpreted to have "broken the back" of the right-wing armed cells. This presumption proved however to be premature.

A short lull in attacks did occur, but during the night of Saturday, July 14, 1990, two predominantly Black patronized hotels in the White suburbs of the West Rand were attacked by White men with hand grenades. Two Blacks were killed and twenty-one injured in these blasts.

While these two attacks were clearly aimed at Black targets, two further explosions which occurred the same night outside the homes of two right-wingers, were not. A bomb exploded outside the house of Hendrik Binneman—one of the original "Order of Death" members who had been released on bail—and another outside the house of Enrico Francicco, one of the original group of nine men arrested by the police earlier in the month. Francicco had just been released from police custody.

It later transpired that the blasts had been intended as intimidatory warnings to the two men not to tell the police too much—Binneman had been asked to shelter Rudolph for two nights, but had refused, while Francicco had (he alleged unwittingly) sheltered Rudolph in his upmarket Cyrildene home for two days and had already made a statement to the police concerning the matter.

The police then announced that the two Order of Death escapees, Lottering and Goosen, were suspected of having teamed up with Rudolph before he had masterminded the air force weapons heist.

The men had apparently spent the interim time establishing a series of safe houses, hideouts and weapons caches.

Rudolph himself had, from the time of the weapons theft in Pretoria, led a "Scarlet Pimpernel" type existence (newspapers even dubbed him the "Boere-Pimpernel"), issuing press statements and making appearances to selected people apparently at will. Shortly after the weapons theft he stayed briefly at the home of one of the three men arrested for the Melrose House bombing, Gert du Bruyn. Du Bruyn's wife later said that Rudolph at all times carried a hand grenade with him which he said he would use to kill himself "and a few other people" should he ever be cornered—something that Rudolph later denied had been said.

Early in August Rudolph sent by telegraphic money order R1,000 to Du Bruyn's wife to help her out while her husband was in detention.

Rudolph survived by moving around from safe house to safe house as often as he could, but also by staying at the homes of prominent rightwingers—such as the brother-in-law of Barend Strydom (the White Wolf), one Deon Rautenbach, in the correct presumption that the police would not think of looking for him there.

He moved around with such freedom that he even saw fit to make a signed affidavit in front of an attorney, Jack Nel, at the latter's offices in the middle of the busy East Rand city of Germiston on July 16, 1990. Rudolph simply walked unannounced into the attorney's offices, asked Nel to witness the affidavit and walked out. (Nel had done legal work previously for Rudolph.)

In the affidavit Rudolph said that one of the men arrested for complicity in the Melrose House bombing, Jan Meyer, was completely innocent. Meyer was subsequently released without being charged after being held for over two months without trial.

Two other men arrested by the police, Bester and Mienie, were then charged with the illegal possession of arms and ammunition and released on bail. Bester's charge was of course part of his cover as a police agent.

Hendrik Steyn, the AWB man held for the Welkom blast, was also released without any

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charges being put to him. The police, although acting on information and strong suspicion, had to admit that they were unable to prove anything conclusive against Steyn.

On July 22, 1990, a dynamite blast struck the NP head office in Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, causing extensive damage to the walls and offices of the old building.

After this blast, another lull in attacks occurred until Saturday, August 11, 1990, when a bomb exploded at a crowded Black taxi stand in the center of Pretoria. Miraculously no one was killed in the blast, which took place at peak shopping time.

On his return from a weekend trip to Great Britain (for a Channel 4 television appearance), Terre'Blanche condemned the Pretoria bomb, saying these sort of acts were "giving the AWB the wrong image."

Nonetheless, the number of White terrorist incidents increased steadily. Shortly after the Pretoria bomb, two blasts shook left-wing venues in the Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair—one at a hotel frequented by ANC supporters and another outside a cinema hosting a left-wing film festival. Only slight damage was caused in these two blasts. (Once again it was much later revealed that these two attacks were carried out by members of the security police, who hoped correctly that the incidents would be blamed on the right wing.)

Another hand grenade attack in the Roodepoort area (West Rand) took place on August 23, 1990. An M26 hand grenade, which was the same type used in the other two attacks in the same suburb, was thrown into a crowd of Blacks standing on the platform of the Roodepoort railway station. One Black man was killed in this attack. M26 hand grenades are of South African manufacture and were issued to police and army units.

The pro-government Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* had its offices in Doornfontein, Johannesburg, hit by two bomb blasts early in September 1990. That newspaper's arts page editor's car was destroyed in the blast, which also blew out windows in the building. No other damage was caused.

Piet Rudolph telephoned another newspaper, the *Pretoria News,* and claimed responsibility for the blasts at *Beeld.* It later transpired that the bombs had been set by one Donald Gibbs, a friend of Rudolph's from Heidelberg and the man who made the then already famous Piet Rudolph video. Gibbs was arrested for the blasts, but granted indemnity a short while later.

On September 12, 1990, the National Party offices in Brooklyn, Pretoria, were attacked in a midnight bomb blast. The front window of the office and valuable computer equipment were damaged.

The police had in the meantime formulated charges of terrorism against a number of the men they had earlier detained. Veenendaal and Stopforth appeared in court charged with the series of blasts in Johannesburg, while Rootenberg was charged with harboring a wanted person (the escapee Fanie Goosen, who had allegedly stayed at Rootenberg's home after his escape in March). A large number of other detainees were released without having any charges put to them.

In the interim the two Order of Death escapees, Goosen and Lottering, were rearrested. Lottering was arrested by police on a farm in Northern Natal while Goosen was arrested at a police roadblock on the main road between Durban and Johannesburg. Goosen was allegedly severely assaulted and tortured by individual policemen when he was arrested the second time, apparently in a desperate attempt to discover the whereabouts of Rudolph.

In desperation Goosen's parents approached a Conservative Party MP, Koos van der Merwe, for assistance. He was granted permission by the Minister of Law and Order, Adrian

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Vlok, to visit Goosen in prison. There Goosen told him of how he had been assaulted by a Major Pretorius at the Sandton police station while his feet and hands had been shackled. He said he had been repeatedly punched in the face and had had his head slammed into a wall several times. After yet another unidentified White policeman had assaulted him, a Black policeman had been encouraged to assault him as well. After the assaults he had been forced to wipe up the blood with his own shirt.

Upon hearing this evidence, which was substantiated by a visit to the surgeon general (who confirmed the injuries alleged by Goosen), Vlok appointed a police general to investigate the claims. Assault charges were laid against several policemen—although nothing was ever to come of the investigation.

HNP leader Jaap Marais, Terre'Blanche, and Robert van Tonder then also revealed details of assaults on other White detainees. Marais said he had a letter in his possession which had been written by Veenendaal to his wife in which he claimed he had been assaulted. Van Tonder said he had given the names of six policemen allegedly involved in the torture of detainees to the government and he further demanded their dismissal—a plea which fell on deaf ears.

During a press conference held in Pretoria, Terre'Blanche introduced three AWB members (Jan Meyer and the brothers Gert and Jan du Bruyn—all of whom had been arrested in connection with the Melrose House bombing) who testified that they had been assaulted by individual policemen while in custody. They alleged that they had been punched and had electric shocks applied to their private parts.

One former detainee, Leon van Rensburg, had been held in detention in the Black township of Soweto's police cells (presumably to try and avoid the possibility of other Whites attempting to free him). Van Rensburg claimed that while being tortured (a wet canvas bag had been put over his head, almost suffocating him) he had suffered a heart attack. Despite all these arrests, Rudolph managed to stay on the loose and became even more daring as time went on, even though the government had put a R50, 000 reward out for anyone giving information leading to his arrest.

Early in September a letter which claimed to be from Rudolph was delivered to *Beeld's* offices in which it was stated that he wanted amnesty so that he "could participate in the peace negotiations between the government and the ANC."

Rudolph then personally delivered a letter to the offices of the left-wing *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper in Bree Street, Johannesburg, in broad daylight on September 11, 1990, in which he denied that he had written the letter to *Beeld.*

According to the startled *Vrye Weekblad* receptionist who opened the door for Rudolph, he was wearing a blue overall with a gray wig and was being driven around by another person in a green station wagon (also known as an estatecar).

This was to be Rudolph's last act of bravado. The next week, on Monday, September 17, 1990, he was arrested in a Pretoria North suburb in a dramatic police swoop which saw the car he was travelling in stopped in a busy street and surrounded by ten heavily armed policemen who had been following him all the way from Potchefstroom.

The person driving Rudolph's vehicle was identified as Chris Beetge, a former journalist who had worked on mainstream newspapers such as the *Transvaler* and who also had been editor of the AWB's newspaper at one stage.

Despite expectations to the contrary, Rudolph's arrest only caused a short pause in right-wing terrorism.

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On October 2, 1990, a homemade parcel bomb, concealed in a computer casing, detonated on the premises of a private computer company, PC Plus, in Durban. A twenty-three year old White employee of the company died in the blast. PC Plus was fairly well-known in the Durban area as being owned by a left-wing sympathizer who specialized in supplying computer equipment to left-wing organizations. The director of the company was a draft dodger who had refused to serve in the South African army. The parcel containing the bomb was handed in to a parcel delivery service in Benoni in the Transvaal for delivery to Durban by three White men.

The police, after having issued artist's impressions of the three men, announced on November 19, 1990, that six White men (including two British citizens, the brothers Mark and Christopher Singleton, who had apparently deserted from the British army in Germany to come to South Africa), had been detained in connection with the incident. The six men were also linked by the police to the Pretoria taxi stand bomb.

The Singleton brothers were boarding with Koos Vermeulen, one of the original "tar and feather" trialists, and leader of something he called the "World Apartheid Movement." A few days later, Vermeulen was also detained, but later released and the Singleton brothers deported.

The other men arrested were named as Lood van Schalkwyk, Henry Martin, and Adriaan Martiz. The latter three were eventually charged with both blasts, and after failing to gain indemnity for their deeds, went on a prolonged hunger strike in 1991. They were eventually released on bail.

Martin (a British citizen) and Maritz then skipped bail and fled to Britain, while Van Schalkwyk went underground once again, only to be rearrested, tried, and sentenced to death in 1992. Maritz tried to reenter South Africa in May 1994, and was rearrested at Jan Smuts airport by the South African police who had been tipped off by the British police. He only spent a short time in jail and was then given amnesty early in 1995 under an amnesty law granted by the last White state president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk.

Van Schalkwyk was less fortunate. Inexplicably he was not granted amnesty along with his coaccused, and died in prison of health complications early in 1996. One interesting aspect of their case was the involvement of a low level police officer, who had supplied the physical address of the computer company to the three men and had helped deliver the computer bomb to the delivery company. The policeman was granted indemnity after he turned state witness.

On October 9, 1990, a bus full of Blacks was ambushed and raked with AK-47 and R1 rifle fire just outside Durban. Six Blacks were killed and twenty-seven injured in the attack. While the incident was initially thought to be linked to Black on Black violence in Natal, this notion was dispelled on October 17, when the police announced that they had arrested three AWB men: Dawid Botha, Adriaan Smuts, and Eugene Marais, from the Richards Bay area (in the north of that province) for the attack. A large amount of ammunition and the weapons used in the attack were also seized. The three men were members of the Orde Boerevolk's Northern Natal organization.

Evidence in the resultant trial showed that the attack was retaliation for a knife attack by a group of Blacks on White pedestrians walking down a Durban street the day before.

Another interesting revelation to emerge from the trial of Marais (his case was separated from the other two) was that the men were followers of the Israel Vision church (also known as Christian Identity), confirming the pattern that the majority of Whites who had taken up arms up to that time were members of this church.

Marais was found guilty on all seven counts of murder and twenty-seven counts of attempted murder and sentenced to death, as were Botha and Smuts in a separate trial later.

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On October 11, 1990, a homemade bomb, lined with nuts and bolts, went off outside the residence of the American ambassador in Pretoria just after an official function there had come to an end. No one was injured in the attack, which caused minimal damage.

On October 16, 1990, a Johannesburg advocate and AWB member, Andries Smit, was given a suspended sentence in the Johannesburg Regional Court after he was found guilty of the possession of two M26 hand grenades, supplied by Piet Rudolph.

On October 17, 1990, the brother-in-law of Barend Strydom (the "White Wolf"), one Deon Rautenbach, was detained by the security police, who said that they were holding him in connection with the bomb blasts at the NP office in Pretoria and the American ambassador's house. A short while afterwards, one of Rautenbach's personal friends, a young man by the name of Paul Kruger, was also detained.

Thereafter a third man, Piet Venter, was also detained in connection with the blasts. All three were detained for several weeks before being granted indemnity under the government's special indemnity offer originally designed for ANC operatives, but which was widely enough defined to include all those making themselves guilty of politically motivated offenses up until October 8, 1990.

Kruger's detention created a furor as it transpired that despite his open association with Rautenbach he had still been employed as a junior official in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

On November 2, 1990, State President F.W. de Klerk was addressing a private meeting of businessmen at the prestigious Johannesburg Sun hotel in the center of Johannesburg when a bomb went off in the street around the corner from the hotel. The security screen was apparently too tight for the bomber to get any closer, and one shop near the hotel was extensively damaged.

On November 12, 1990, the police announced that five men, all AWB members, had been arrested in the Orange Free State capital of Bloemfontein in connection with the bombing of the NP office in that city earlier in the year. The men, whose number included Dirk Ackermann, a Wenkommando general in that province, were all granted indemnity in 1991.

On November 16, 1990, the Rand supreme court trial of the "Order of Death" escapees, Cornelius Lottering and Fanie Goosen finally got underway after nearly a year's delay caused by their original escape from custody. The first piece of evidence handed in came from Lottering, who had written a thirty-seven page manifesto detailing his beliefs and motivation for his deeds. From this document it became clear that Lottering was also an avid follower of the Israel Vision theory.

The court was in an uproar when Lottering said in his manifesto (which was read out loud by his defense advocate) that the multi-national Anglo-American Corporation, the Broederbond, the South African Reserve Bank, and the World Bank were "all part of a massive body which was aimed at eventually controlling the world to prepare the way for the Anti-Christ."

Lottering, whose father was a member of the Ossewabrandwag during the Second World War, described himself as "part of a pure White race descended from the biblical King David which has been blessed by God and which is pitted against the diabolical forces of International Jewry."

Lottering went on to describe Jews as "bastardized descendants of the tribes of Israel who have mixed with Black races, the descendants of Eve's cursed son Cain." Dismissing the holocaust as "Jewish propaganda" Lottering went on to tell the court that the Jewish Rothschild banking house and the Rockefellers "instigated world catastrophes such as the Russian revolution, Communism, and the World Wars."

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The document also contained more than one hundred biblical quotations.

Acting Justice Irving Steyn was not moved by the manifesto, and, calling Lottering's religious views "warped," found him guilty on all the charges: murder (of the Black taxi driver) of setting a bomb outside Jani Allan's flat, two charges of robbery with aggravating circumstances, the illegal possession of a firearm, and escaping from police custody.

Lottering was sentenced to an effective twenty-four years imprisonment. Goosen was sentenced to an effective thirteen years imprisonment, being found guilty on all charges except that of the murder of the Black taxi driver. The two men gave each other open handed AWB salutes in the dock after sentencing.

On November 9, 1990, a Kempton Park (just to the East of Johannesburg) Conservative Party city councilor, Greyling Bezuidenhout, and two other men, Andre Naude and Hendrick de Kock, appeared in the Kempton Park regional court charged with sabotage, attempted murder, and two bombings in that town. The three men were all members of the AWB, with Bezuidenhout being the former Kempton Park AWB branch leader who had won a seat on the Kempton Park city council in 1988 under the CP banner.

According to the court indictment, Bezuidenhout supplied explosives and detonators to the two other men in July 1990, which were then used to blow up a Black patronized shop in the center of Kempton Park and to blow up the railway line linking the neighboring Black township of Tembisa to Kempton Park on August 4, 1990.

The three men were held for nearly fifty days without trial before they were brought to court. After several court postponements the three men were also granted indemnity.

On November 10, 1990, Terre'Blanche led a noisy demonstration of about 350 women and children outside the security police head office in Pretoria against the continued detention without trial of nearly forty men across the country.

After two months in detention, Piet Rudolph launched an unsuccessful bail application at the beginning of December in the Johannesburg magistrate's court. From that bail application, it transpired that Rudolph's second in command was Henk Bredenhann, the same man allegedly involved in the Veenendaal escape in Namibia.

Other interesting facts to come out from the bail application were that Rudolph confirmed in person for the first time the existence of the Orde Boerevolk and further confirmed that he was the organization's leader. Rudolph also finally admitted his involvement in a shotgun attack on the British Embassy in Pretoria during February 1990.

Rudolph announced that he was now prepared to look to peaceful options instead of violence, but solemnly told the court that "the war will continue if a Black majority rule government takes over. If a situation should arise in which the Boer volk becomes subjugated, we will enter into a struggle to the death. This struggle will make the French and Russian revolutions look like a Sunday school picnic."

The police's investigating officer in the case, Major Johan Pretorius, then told the court that he and other security policemen had received countless death threats and that they now had to have uniformed guards at their houses twenty-four hours a day to avoid damage or injury to their properties or their families.

"The Order Boerevolk is merely slumbering, waiting for the return of its leader, to continue with acts of violence," Pretorius told the court. It was further his opinion that if Rudolph was granted bail he would again return to the underground. "His whole movement is out there, up to ten thousand of them," said Pretorius. "He has vast support. He is a master of disguise." To substantiate this last claim, the police then handed in three photographs of

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Rudolph, two of them showing him dressed in disguises which were in his possession when he was captured.

When questioned by defense attorney Jack Nel as to why he (Pretorius) was of the opinion that Rudolph would skip bail, Pretorius replied that the police would not recapture Rudolph as the "Order Boerevolk is still a question mark. The police have not gained information on the movement's ranks, structure, code numbers, logistics, and its arsenal. Mr. Rudolph has admitted only his own involvement to the police. He is still as silent as the grave about the Order Boerevolk and his accomplices. He has been sought on a national scale. We searched thousands of kilometers, by helicopter, on foot and in four wheel drive vehicles. The cost in man-hours during the five month search is incalculable. We searched for him from here to the Kalahari (desert) but we didn't find him."

This last remark caused much mirth in the public gallery, which by the second day was packed with friends and supporters.

Some minutes of the Order Boerevolk's meetings that fell into the hands of the police revealed the existence of operations with the code names "Mandela" and "Sambok" and other names about which the police had no information, said Pretorius. He also pointed out that more than two thirds of the weapons stolen by Rudolph and his associates from the air force arsenal were still missing and that Rudolph had refused to say where they were.

As if on cue, while the bail application was being heard, a Black mineworker found one of the Order Boerevolk's arms caches hidden down a seventy-six meter disused mine shaft in Krugersdorp.

Some time after Rudolph's court appearance, an acting leader and deputy leader of the Order Boerevolk were publicly appointed—the acting leader being Kallie Bredenhann (father of Henk), and the deputy leader being Coen Vermaak (a former AWB East Rand burgher council leader).

Chris Beetge, the ex-journalist arrested with Rudolph, was appointed as the Order Boerevolk's press officer. The reason for the decision on the part of the Order Boerevolk to go public was twofold—firstly they announced that they now wished to involve themselves in negotiations to claim a Boer state, and secondly (the unstated reason) because the majority of their operational members had been identified and detained.

By going public and committing themselves to a peaceful solution, the Order Boerevolk hoped to secure the release of many of the men being held by conforming to the government's blanket amnesty offer to political offenders (designed at the time to grant indemnity to returning ANC exiles).

As it turned out this strategy proved to be the correct one to follow as almost all of the right-wingers detained at this time were granted indemnity. Piet Rudolph was amongst the first to be freed and on his release he was appointed publicity secretary of the AWB and once again became involved in the center of AWB activities.

Rudolph also gave up his position as deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party and, after a fall out with his former comrades in the Order Boerevolk, resigned as leader of that organization as well, throwing in for good measure an announcement that the Order was being disbanded. The remaining Order members had other ideas and elected a new leader, Nick Strydom (father of the "White Wolf" Barend Strydom), and issued a statement in June 1991 saying they had not been disbanded.

Rudolph however restarted the Order Boerevolk in 1992, calling it the Order of the Boerevolk (1992) to distinguish it from the earlier organization.

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An AWB Wenkommando general, Willem Etsebeth, based in the Orange Free State, was also detained during this period, and made a statement to the police in which he claimed the following:

* He and two other AWB men, Christo Niemand and Stevan Terblanch, planned to blow up the ANC offices in Bloemfontein but were stopped after AWB General (and later—in 1995—kommandant general of the AWB) Dirk Ackerman told them not to as the ANC would then blow up the AWB offices in Ventersdorp.

* He kept explosives in his car.

* He gave alarm clocks to Dirk Ackerman who then made time bomb detonators out of them.

* Dirk Ackerman showed him the site where he had attacked a National Party office with a shotgun.

* He gave AWB members Christo Niemand and Bill Alison the explosives and detonators to blow up the NP offices in Bloemfontein on July 21, 1990.

* He transported claymore mines and other arms and ammunition in his car from Upington to Bloemfontein.

* He and his colleagues planned to blow up an NP public meeting in Wolmaranstad by throwing explosives, hidden in two loaves of bread, onto the roof of the hall where the meeting was being held. This attack never took place and the explosives were used to bring down a power pylon near Bultfontein.

* He helped steal a mini bus which was later given to Piet Rudolph to use.

* He participated in the theft of another vehicle near a hotel resort near Bloemfontein.

* He and Dirk Ackerman were signed up members of the Orde Boerevolk, which he saw as "a subdivision of the AWB."

Another Orange Free State AWB general, Dirk Ackerman, was also detained during this period, and he also made a statement to the police in which he alleged that:

* He helped AWB fugitives Leonard Veenendaal and Darryl Stopforth move around in South Africa after their escape from Namibia.

* He participated in a car theft in Krugersdorp along with AWB activist Willem Boshoff; this car was eventually given to Piet Rudolph to use.

* He helped transport the weapons stolen by Piet Rudolph from the SA air force from a farm in Bapsfontein, belonging to one Hilton Hofmeyer, to a house in Heidelberg belonging to one Kallie Bredenhann (later an acting leader of the Orde Boerevolk).

* He, Rudolph, and Boshoff, followed by Veenendaal and Stopforth in a second car, attacked a Black minibus taxi outside the Black township of Sebokeng in a revenge attack for the murder of a White man by Blacks a few days earlier.

* He personally hid the explosives in two loaves of bread for use in the above mentioned planned attack on the NP meeting in Wolmaranstad.

* He participated in the transport of illegal arms, ammunition, and explosives.

Not all the violent incidents were of a classical terrorist nature though. Terre'Blanche, dressed in the uniform of the Wenkommando, personally attended the first court appearance of nine men in the Northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt who were charged with assaulting a group of Black Sunday school children attempting to use the previously Whites only park in that

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town early in November 1990. The charges against the men were however withdrawn when it became clear that the state could not prove its case.

The town of Welkom in the Orange Free State, the scene of many confrontations during the course of 1990, saw yet another clash in December of that year when about four hundred members of the ANC-supporting National Union of Mineworkers were allegedly attacked by about fifty uniformed AWB men. The union said in a statement that it had not bothered to report the event to the police as they claimed to have recognized off duty policemen amongst the attackers. This allegation could not be verified and as no charges were laid, no prosecutions followed.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: THE BATTLE OF VENTERSDORP

One of the most publicly violent clashes between the state and the AWB was without doubt the shootout in the streets of Ventersdorp on August 9, 1991. This battle, which left three AWB members dead and a large number of policemen and AWB men injured, was even commemorated in a special medal struck by the AWB and given to all AWB members who had been present in the small Western Transvaal town that night.

The Battle of Ventersdorp actually had its origin in an earlier clash on a farm situated outside Ventersdorp. This clash, which saw police use live ammunition on White farmers for the first time since the Rand Strike of 1922, laid the catalyst for the later Battle of Ventersdorp.

The earlier clash occurred on the farm Goedgevonden on May 11, 1991. The farm, which is state property, had been the scene some years earlier of a forced removal of a local Black community. With the repeal of the Land Acts (which gave Whites exclusive right to purchase property in farming areas) the removed Black community was encouraged to move back onto their land by local church groups. Thus a substantial shanty town squatter camp was erected virtually overnight on the Goedgevonden farm.

Local farmers soon began complaining of crime and stock thefts and after several unsuccessful appeals to government to do something about the squatter problem, the farmers decided to act themselves.

The AWB, having its headquarters in Ventersdorp, was also heavily involved in the complaints against the squatters' presence, and three weeks before the battle of Goedgevonden, Terre'Blanche warned from a public platform in that town's hall that action would be taken if the state refused to do anything.

The police, presumably with the aid of an informer, knew that action was being planned against the squatters, and on Friday, May 10, 1991, warned Piet Rudolph that the squatters were going to be protected.

When the police noticed an exceptionally heavy buildup of vehicles in the Ventersdorp area the same day, they reissued their warning to the AWB.

The police however could not be everywhere at once and at 1:45 the next morning the first attack against the squatters began. This attack was led by Terre'Blanche personally and consisted of at least twenty-five horsemen charging through the squatter camp destroying the shacks with clubs.

A Johannesburg daily newspaper then alleged that Piet Rudolph had dropped one of his AWB calling cards in the Black township during the raid, but Rudolph himself denied this, saying that he had never even been into the township and had no idea where the newspaper had obtained his calling card.

A heavily armed police contingent then moved onto Goedgevonden to protect the squatters against the growing band of farmers, whose numbers had swelled to over two thousand by the time of the first attack. A standoff situation then occurred between the police and the farmers, with the latter group staging mock attacks all along the perimeter of the farm the whole night long, keeping armored police vehicles rushing from point to point trying to stop them.

At about 3:30 a.m. the farmers suddenly launched another heavy attack on the police lines, bringing up extra heavy commercial vehicles to punch a hole through the police cordon. This attempt was successful and the farmers once again set about destroying what little remained of the squatter camp before being driven off by police reinforcements.

The police then received the order to open fire on the farmers, an order which was duly

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carried out. Many farmers' vehicles were hit by gunfire and four farmers were injured, two of them seriously.

Once the second attack had begun—and had been met by police fire, the farmers regrouped to plot a further attack. The squatters had however by this time been well and truly scattered, so the farmers headed off into the neighboring Black township of Tshing and at 4:30 a.m. houses in that residential area were attacked at random.

The situation at Goedgevonden was eventually calmed down by the arrival of Law and Order Minister Vlok and CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg. By late afternoon of May 11, 1991, most of the farmers had dispersed.

The farmers were angry and astounded that the police had fired on them and swore to waiting journalists that the "next time" they would fire back. Little did people realise how true those words would be.

Against this backdrop, State President F.W. de Klerk announced soon afterwards that he was coming to hold a public meeting in Ventersdorp on August 9, 1991. Immediately the country was ablaze with speculation that the Ventersdorp meeting was going to be a replay of the 1986 Pietersburg battle—but given the events at Goedgevonden, few realized that the mood had changed—for the worse.

The first hint of trouble came when the Ventersdorp town council (controlled by the CP) issued a formal request to De Klerk to call off the meeting as he "was not welcome in Ventersdorp." The council also refused permission to the National Party to hold the meeting in the town hall, forcing that party to use the local army hall instead.

Terre'Blanche then announced that he was going to hold a public meeting in Ventersdorp the same night and that the AWB would march to the NP meeting to present a petition to De Klerk. CP deputy leader Hartzenberg then also announced that he would be addressing a meeting in Ventersdorp as well, quickly obtaining use of the town hall earlier denied to the NP.

Sensing an impending confrontation, the police then announced that they would be there "in sufficient numbers to prevent trouble".

What they meant by this only became apparent later—six rolls of razor fence and about 2 000 policemen were called in to surround the hall (one block in every direction) where De Klerk's meeting was to take place and armoured personnel carriers, originally designed to control riots, were stationed at strategic positions around the hall.

An entire squadron of Defense Force armored cars, called ratels, each armed with a 12.7mm caliber rapid fire gun, were placed on standby some seven kilometers out of town. Roadblocks were set up on all the incoming roads but these proved to be fairly ineffective. The entire afternoon of August 9, 1991 the roads leading to Ventersdorp were thick with traffic from all parts of the country—including a batch of farmers from Namibia who were angry with the South African government for handing that country over to SWAPO rule.

The police stopped vehicles on the way in but did not confiscate any weapons, something which was later to be the cause of much criticism. (The only weapons which the police did confiscate were some pointed arms shields.)

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On their way: a jovial group of AWB supporters stop at a police roadblock on their way to Ventersdorp.

A pointed arm shield, seized from AWB members at police roadblocks outside Ventersdorp.

In the town itself the contrast between the NP offices and the AWB offices was marked. Outside the NP offices sandbags had been put into place and a heavy police presence stopped any unauthorized persons from entering those offices.

The AWB office, with its cast iron eagle outside its door, was open and no one was searched on entering. People in the uniforms of the Wenkommando came and went as they pleased and the atmosphere was noticeably much lighter. In one of the rooms the AWB had set up its own emergency clinic with qualified doctors and nurses (AWB supporters of course) standing by to treat any injuries.

Eventually an estimated eight to ten thousand people—police included—congregated in the little town that night (usual population 2,500). The public meeting addressed by Hartzenberg

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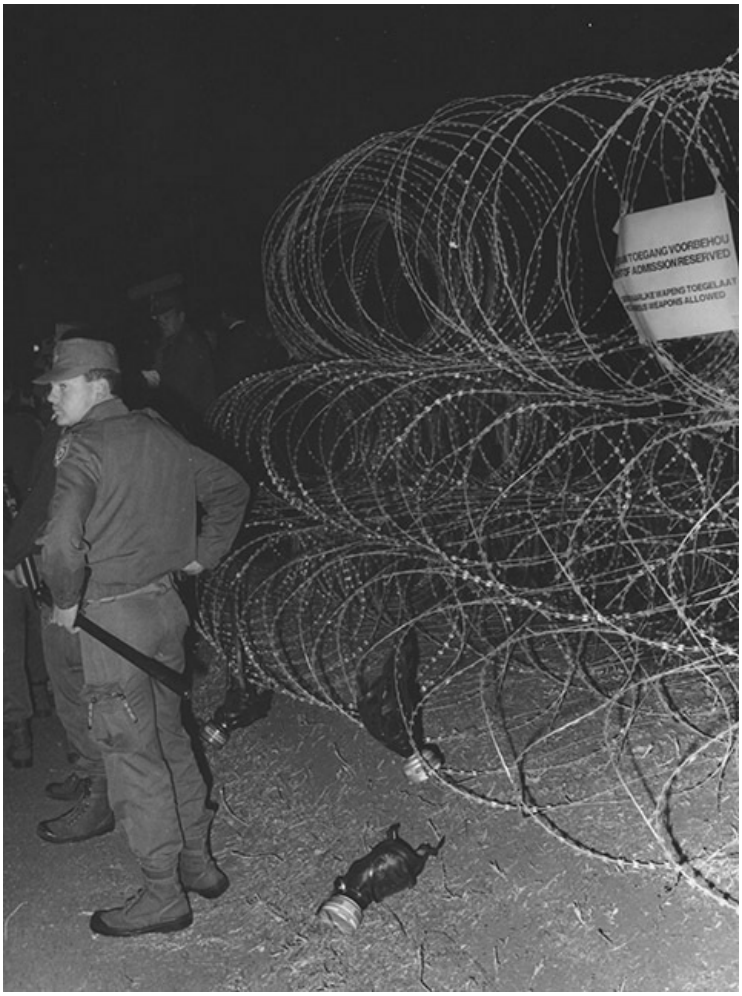
went off without incident with the capacity crowd cheering him on. Darkness had fallen by the time this relatively short meeting had ended. Outside in the streets the mood was actually quite festive. Open air barbecues abounded and everyone strolled around waiting for something to happen.



The police surround F.W. de Klerk's meeting in Ventersdorp with 3 meter high barbed wire.

At the NP hall, the atmosphere was thick with tension. It was for many an unusual experience to have to be subjected to body searches, to produce invitation cards and to pass through metal detectors and a massive security encampment just to hear a public meeting. An attempt to get the crowd to sing songs failed miserably. As was learned afterwards, De Klerk had planned to arrive at the hall by helicopter, but police intelligence had established that the possibility existed (extremely vague though it was) that someone had possession of a surface to air missile and was going to shoot De Klerk's helicopter down. In the end De Klerk landed some distance away and travelled the remainder of the way by car, arriving a half hour late for the meeting.

When he did arrive at the hall he was informed by a senior police officer that he should not proceed with the meeting as the possibility of violence was great. The advice was turned down.

Outside, things began to heat up. Terre'Blanche announced to the crowd that he was going to the NP hall to try to get into the meeting and present a petition to De Klerk. A large

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crowd of about two thousand AWB men formed outside the Ventersdorp hotel, to be met by a contingent of policemen and dogs, which had been deployed there to try and prevent the crowd from moving in the direction of the hall.

The AWB line up in the streets of Ventersdorp, on their way to attack the National Party meeting, while, below, police line up outside the Ventersdorp Hotel, to head off the AWB march.

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The AWB and police lines meet. The police fire tear gas, below, and vicious hand-to-hand fighting erupts between the police and the AWB. Insect spray is used by the AWB to take out the police dogs and those policemen without gas masks, and eventually shots are exchanged when the town's lights are switched off by the AWB sympathizing town engineer.

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Piet Rudolph wards off a police dog during the close-up fighting. Gunfire was exchanged when the town's lights went out.

Tensions rose visibly as the crowd moved off. Clubs and baseball bats appeared amongst the crowd as makeshift weapons, while most were armed with rubber batons and side firearms. Some men even brought their own dogs with which they taunted the line of police dogs standing along the street.

The AWB men began screaming insults at De Klerk, and then suddenly one of the policemen sprayed tear gas into the face of one of the AWB men right at the front of the AWB line.

The marchers had by this stage split into two groups and were approaching the NP hall from two directions, one group led by Terre'Blanche and the other by Rudolph. The AWB crowd surged forward. At first the police line faltered under the unexpected assault and baton blows, but they soon regrouped a little way back and stood firm.

Vicious hand-to-hand fighting took place with police spraying tear gas at the AWB men (some of whom wore tear gas masks, while others wore wet clothes to protect them from the gas). The AWB men then produced their own, far more vicious version of tear gas—insect spray, which they proceeded to spray at the police dogs and at the policemen themselves.

As the marchers approached the hall a series of events occurred in quick succession. A taxi, driven by a Black (in South Africa, Blacks most commonly use mini-buses as taxis), suddenly appeared out of nowhere and went wildly careering down the street towards the crowd.

The AWB crowd began rocking the van to and fro, and the driver tried to turn his vehicle around to get away. A person in the crowd broke one of the vehicle's windows and then the driver managed to drive off in the direction of a nearby police unit. Someone in the AWB crowd then fired at the taxi, and others started following his example. The taxi sped up, only to crash into a police vehicle.

Then all of a sudden the entire town's lights went off. (It was later alleged that the town engineer had deliberately cut the power in an attempt to sabotage the NP meeting. He of course was unaware of what was happening in the streets.)

At the same time a pickup with a canopy (driven by Blacks) appeared from nowhere and

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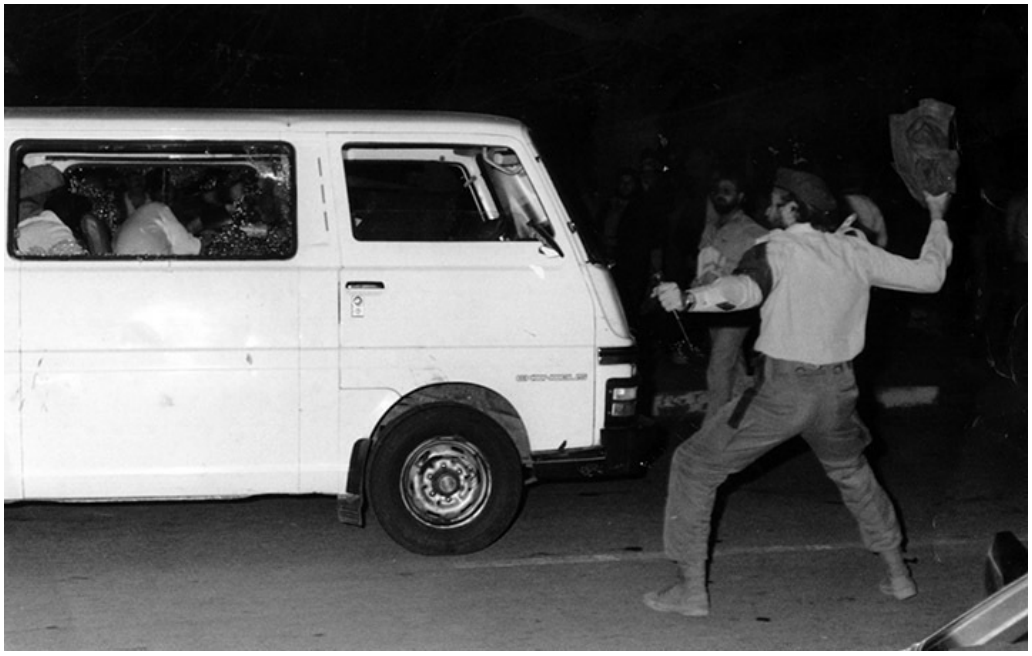
tried to drive through the crowd, only succeeding in hitting several Whites and eventually slamming into an electrical power box. Incensed by the fact that the pickup had knocked over so many Whites (indeed, two of the Whites who died that night did so as a result of their injuries caused by that vehicle), some AWB men began shooting at the pickup as well. While this was happening, another taxi and a bus then also appeared on the main street, providing yet more targets for the incensed AWB men to shoot. The second taxi careered down the main street, knocking down the gates of a church.

When the gunshots directed at the pickup rang out, the police brigadier in charge of operations, Adrian de la Rosa, gave the order for his men to also open fire with live ammunition. While the town was thus still in darkness, the two sides began exchanging live fire at each other.



A Black taxi which accidentally drove into the AWB crowd, knocking over two people, is attacked by the enraged AWB mob.

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The AWB man killed by police fire in the ensuing shoot-out.

The small town echoed with the sound of gunfire, transforming the usually peaceful streets into a literal war zone.

Terre'Blanche had personally been at the thick of the cross fire outside the Ventersdorp hotel. Standing in the middle of the barbed wire emplacements, he asked the police to stop shooting, at the same time ordering the AWB men to stop shooting as well. This appeal for calm seemed to work for a little while, until a police helicopter appeared overhead and some of the AWB men began shooting at it with hunting rifles. It flew away without being damaged.

A shocked silence then descended on the town. As the lights came back on, three Whites lay dead and another forty-three were injured. Fifteen Blacks (who had been inside the taxis and the pickup) had also been injured. Two of the dead Whites had been run over by the pickup while the third had been hit in the torso by a full burst of police shotgun fire. At least seven policemen were admitted to the hospital with gunshot wounds.

Inside the hall where De Klerk had proceeded with his speech, dull thumps had been heard and the smell of tear gas wafted in. The hall lights and sound system had its own electricity supply (specially laid in case of a power cut) and proceedings were thus not disrupted by the general power cut.

Amongst the audience, rumors began to spread that there had been fighting, but even so the shock was profound when meeting chairman Barend du Plessis asked the crowd to stand in

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“sympathy with the dead.”

Senior policemen advised De Klerk that it would not be safe for him to leave the area in an ordinary vehicle and he then left in an armored police vehicle which had been adorned by a right-winger with a spray painted hammer and sickle logo entwined with an NP logo.

Many police vehicles had been defaced in this way and when it became known that the police had killed one AWB man, angry rightwingers set about smashing the windows of other police vehicles and deflating their tires with specially designed spikes made of bent and welded nails. One AWB group went downtown to where the Black taxis were parked and attacked them as well.

Armed police block Terre'Blanche in Ventersdorp.

Terre’Blanche went down to the local police station where at least six AWB men (including Rudolph) were being held. After some negotiations the men were released on condition that they appear in court the following Monday and that Terre’Blanche would dissuade his men from attacking the police vehicles any further. This happened and the Battle of Ventersdorp ended at 10:30 that night.

As a final cap to the events, a homemade bomb exploded on the following Sunday under a vehicle belonging to the chairman of the NP in Klerksdorp, causing considerable damage.

On August 21, the National Party offices in Vereeniging (Southern Transvaal) were attacked. A smoke grenade was fired through the office’s front window, striking a portrait of De Klerk. Three AWB members, ages thirty-six, twenty-two, and sixteen, were arrested for the attack some two days later and investigations also linked them to an earlier unexplained smoke grenade attack on the house of a prominent local NP supporter. The police also confiscated twenty-five kilograms of explosives when they arrested the three.

On October 26, 1993, Terre’Blanche, Piet Rudolph, and nine others who had finally been charged with public violence following the Battle of Ventersdorp, were found guilty on these charges. The next day Terre’Blanche was fined R10, 000 or 1000 days, plus eighteen months suspended for five years. Rudolph was fined R3, 000 or three hundred days, while one AWB man, whose gun was forensically linked to bullets found at the scene of the battle, received five years’ imprisonment. The remaining eight accused were all fined for their role in the battle.

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It was the general consensus of all observers that Terre’Blanche and Rudolph had been lucky to escape imprisonment.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: THE MP WHO PLANTED BOMBS AND THE MARCH 1992 REFERENDUM

Early in June 1991 the government announced its intention to house a large number of returning ANC exiles and their families in a disused school in the center of Pretoria. The school, Hillview, soon became the focus point for Pretoria right-wingers, with many local leaders expressing their opposition to the plan, citing the argument that there were many other more suitable sites than a disused school in the middle of what was the largest concentration of Afrikaners in the entire country.

Nonetheless, the government pushed ahead with its plan and started renovating the school. Then on July 14, 1991, a huge blast virtually destroyed the eastern wing of the school. A twenty-five kilogram bomb had been placed on the top floor above the entrance hall after access had been gained by forcing down the front doors. It was, as the *Pretoria News* newspaper commented the following day, an "act which had been announced beforehand, executed on cue, and publicly applauded afterwards."

The AWB held its first general congress (Landsberaad) on October 12, 1991, in Vereeniging. The meeting was marked by the presence of a Conservative Party Member of Parliament, Koos Botha, as an officially invited guest. A number of administrative changes were made to the AWB's structure, the most important of which was the renaming of the position of leader of the AWB to "president."

Terre'Blanche was unanimously elected president after being nominated by Piet Rudolph. The congress ended with a march of some eight hundred members of the Wenkommando through the streets of the town.

December 1991 and January 1992 were marked by a new wave of militant right-wing bomb attacks. First to be attacked on December 16, 1991, was a multiracial Christian school in Klerksdorp in the Western Transvaal. Three different bombs were placed at various points in the school and exploded simultaneously at 1:00 a.m., causing some R1.2 million damage.

The second attack took place the same night. A blast caused R10, 000 damage to a railway substation near Bloemhof in the Western Transvaal. This substation supplied local train lines with power, but no major interruptions ensued.

A fake bomb was discovered the same day in the Sandton shopping center in Northern Johannesburg. The "bomb" had apparently been planted by someone objecting to film theaters being opened to the

public on the Day of the Vow, for an anonymous telephone call to the Sandton City film theater had warned of the device, causing the premises to be evacuated.

The third bomb to go off destroyed the offices of the militant ANC supporting Black trade union, the South African Railways, and Harbors Worker's Union, on December 19, 1991. The union offices, situated in Brown Street, Pretoria, were completely flattened in the blast which shook the building at 1:00 a.m.

The fourth attack took place on December 20, 1991, in the Eastern Transvaal town of Sabie. A bomb ripped through the magistrate's office in this small town at 10:15 p.m., causing extensive damage. Attack number five took place at the multiracial technical college in Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal. Three bombs destroyed a large part of the college when they exploded at 2:00 a.m. on December 21, 1991.

Later that day a beer hall, patronized by Blacks, in the small Western Transvaal town of Koster, was destroyed in a bomb blast.

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An English medium multiracial school, the Lowveld High School, in the Eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit was the next target. Six different bombs rocked the school at 2:00 a.m. on the morning of January 1, 1992. Damage was estimated at R2 million.

On January 2, 1992, two post offices, one at Verwoerdburg (just outside Pretoria, now renamed Centurion), and another at the West Rand town of Krugersdorp, some sixty kilometers from Pretoria, were destroyed by two mighty blasts. These attacks had been the most high profile of all, and attracted worldwide media attention. Damage was estimated to be in the millions.

AWB militants strike. The post office in Verwoerdburg (now renamed Centurion), south of Pretoria, and below, the post office in Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, are destroyed in bomb blasts the same night in January 1992.

Two blasts then shook a South African police training center in the far northern Transvaal

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area of Vaalwater in the late afternoon of January 2, 1992. Here the police got their first clue—a White man was seen running away from the scene just prior to the explosions.

The office of the receiver of revenue in Boksburg was attacked by an arsonist on January 3, 1992. The fire was put out before any major damage had been done, and the "White Wolves" claimed responsibility.

A group calling itself the Afrikaner Volkstaatbeweging (AVB—Afrikaner People's State Movement) then claimed responsibility for the blasts, giving details of the type of explosives used and quantities involved as proof of the claim's authenticity. The AVB said in its statement that it wanted to establish the borders of an Afrikaner homeland and was prepared to either fight or negotiate its way to such a goal.

On Wednesday, January 8, 1992, the police made their first arrests in connection with these blasts. Well-known right-winger Gawie Volschenk (from the Eastern Transvaal) was arrested along with two other men for the blast at the police training center. Volschenk was a member of the AWB's Wenkommando until he broke away with a number of other men to form an independent "Boer Commando" of his own.

On the morning of January 11, 1992, a blast caused by commercial explosives rocked the water supply pipeline to the Vaal Reefs gold mine near Orkney in the Western Transvaal, causing a major disruption in production at the mine.

On January 15, 1992, the police made more arrests in connection with the wave of bombings—four men were arrested, amongst them one Andries Kriel, leader of the Pretoria AWB Wenkommando. Kriel in particular was charged with the explosions at the Black trade union offices and the blasts at the two post offices. He was also linked by police to the explosion at the Hillview School in Pretoria.

In 1995, Kriel gave this detailed account of the Hillview bombing: he told of how he first met Koos Botha during a (failed) attempt to obtain unity between right-wing trade unions organized by the CP. Botha was an official CP representative at this meeting, and the two men became good friends from that day on.

When the announcement was made that the Hillview School building was going to be given to ANC exiles, Kriel said that he realized that the CP was not going to be able to stop this process. Only violence could it out of the hands of the ANC, he said.

Against this background, Kriel continued, he and Koos Botha decided that Hillview must be blown up. Koos was regarded in CP circles at that stage as a left-wing CP and no one would suspect him of being linked to a terrorist act. In addition to this he had no record of militant actions. (Note: Botha was a member of the "Volkstaat" faction within the CP caucus, wrongly regarded by many as being a "soft" right-wing policy option.)

Kriel said that Flip Buys, organizing secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, and indirectly Peet Ungerer, secretary general of that union, were also involved in the planning of the Hillview bombing. "Then one day Flip Buys telephoned me and asked me to meet him at the fountains at the Rand Afrikaans University. There he told me that the noise of the fountains would prevent any listening devices from being able to pick up our conversation, and that we could talk safely," Kriel said.

"Buys said that in accordance with an order issued by Peet Ungerer, Hillview School must be blown up by myself. He said that unfortunately he would not be able to accompany me, even though he would very much like to."

Kriel then went on to describe how he and Botha both reconnoitered the Hillview terrain, with the last of such observations being carried out during the daylight hours preceding the

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night-time bombing.

Kriel established from Black laborers at the site that the watchmen who normally slept over at the premises had obtained leave for that weekend, and the building would be uninhabited. The original bombing team was put together as follows: Kriel, Koos Botha, Johannes van den Bergh (son of the well-known right-wing religious leader Mossie van den Bergh), and an unnamed CP Pretoria town councilor.

The explosives were stolen from a mine at Carletonville and Kriel personally fetched them from a friend's house in that town. The bomb itself was constructed in Kriel's living room, in a plastic twenty liter container purchased for that purpose from a fish and chips shop (the container was normally used to carry cooking oil).

Once the bomb had been built, Kriel prayed over it saying that he was carrying forth the struggle in God's name. (In common with many other violent right-wingers in South Africa, Kriel was a supporter of the Israel Vision belief.) When the team finally met for the last time before going on the expedition, Van den Bergh withdrew, suffering from a clear case of nerves. The CP town councilor then also withdrew, although for a legitimate reason. Finally Kriel, Botha, and two other men, unidentified by Kriel, went in to place the bomb.

He notes that Botha was unfamiliar with explosives, and was in fact petrified by them. Botha was convinced that the bomb would go off in the car and when Kriel (jokingly) suggested that they light the fuse while the bomb was still in the car, Botha cursed him roundly. Kriel notes that it was this display of nerves on Botha's part which convinced him never to take the MP for Wonderboom along on any other sabotage missions.

Just after 2:00 a.m. on the chosen day, they stopped the car at a place where there was a hole in the fence. One of the unidentified men waited at the car with its hood open, making as if the car had broken down, while the other three went into the grounds, with the second unidentified man carrying the actual twenty-five kilogram bomb.

The bomb was placed on the first floor and when Kriel lit the fuse, it made a sputtering noise which was too much for Botha, who turned tail and fled downstairs, causing so much noise that Kriel wrote that it was a miracle that no one heard them then and there.

The men made good their escape and four and a half minutes later (the fuse was set to that length) the bomb went off, when Kriel was already in Wonderboom South on his way home.

Kriel saw that after the Hillview School bombing, of the original bombing team, only Koos Botha was still keen on taking part in any other actions. Botha said however that he would do anything else except actually accompany Kriel on any future missions.

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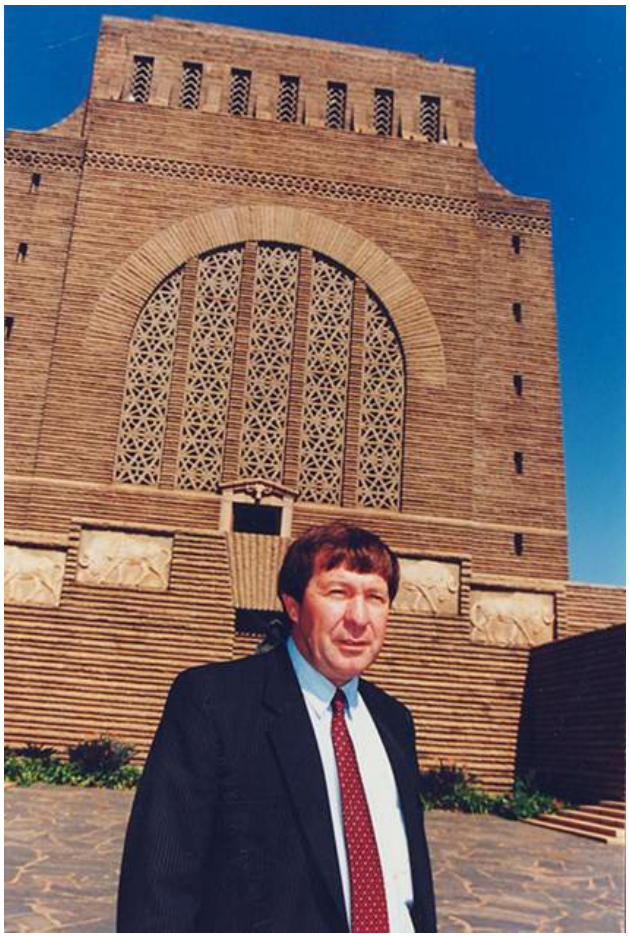

Koos Botha, the bomb planting member of parliament.

Kriel then began looking around for other potential helpers, and decided on another AWB member, one Piet Judeel, who was the Mine Workers' Union representative on the (then closing) Crocodile River mine in Brits. When approached, Judeel immediately expressed his interest in helping with the "struggle" as Kriel put it. In his turn Judeel later recruited Andre Odendaal and one Dirk Hattingh into the cell.

"Flip Buys, who had been entrusted with the difficult job of making telephone calls with the (political) demands to the media, once again personally approached me and asked me to sabotage Cosatu House in Pretoria," Kriel said.

The explosive itself used in the Cosatu House bombing was allegedly supplied by another full-time MWU head office official, Krappies Cronje, who was also a commandant in the AWB's armed wing. Cronje gave the explosive to Koos Botha, who in turn transported it to Kriel.

In December 1991 Kriel then built the bomb, in a similar fashion to the Hillview bomb, only with less explosive. Piet Judeel, Andre Odendaal, and a third unidentified man accompanied him on this mission.

The bombing team initially traveled in two cars, only switching to one at the Wonderboom South post office. Then the bomb was loaded onto the back of the pickup they were using, and Odendaal and the unidentified man lay flat on their stomachs next to the bomb, while Kriel and Judeel sat in front. At the target area, Kriel knocked once on the back window of the pickup—the signal to Odendaal to light the fuse.

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They stopped the vehicle and placed the bomb at the previously selected site at the front of the building where it would do the most damage. At that critical stage the pickup failed to restart. It was only after Judeel and Kriel actually pushed the vehicle that it started and they managed to make their getaway. Piet Judeel and Andre Odendaal were extremely committed to the cause, Kriel said. One example he gave was that of a successful explosive stealing operation carried out by Judeel and Odendaal on Christmas Eve 1991. While everyone else at the Brits mine was attending a party, the two men physically crawled four levels underground to get at an explosives store. When they finally brought the cache to Kriel the next day, they were almost unrecognizable as they were covered in mud, sweat, and dust.

The explosives which Piet Judeel had stolen from the Crocodile mine at Brits were initially stored in Kriel's garage at his house, Kriel later revealed. This was however "dangerous and unacceptable," and Koos Botha arranged a storage place in a disused toilet on a farm near the Rooiwal Power Station.

He said that it was then that he and Botha "decided that the world must take notice" of their endeavors, and they, after "consultation with Flip Buys" decided to blow up some post offices across the country.

Kriel said that initially several people were recruited to blow up ten post offices simultaneously on the evening of January 2, 1992. "Such an act would focus attention on our dilemma," he said. However, those people who initially agreed to take part in the operation pulled out and only he, Piet Judeel, Andre Odendaal, and Dirk Hattingh were left to carry out the mission. They however decided to push ahead and manufactured two bombs—one for the Verwoerdburg post office, and another for the Krugersdorp post office. The two bombs each contained eighteen kilograms of commercial Anfax explosives.

Kriel said that a fifth person, "a very old friend of mine and someone who had been in detention himself" was also present and led a prayer for the bombing team before they left.

He had an arrangement with Koos Botha that he would telephone him at 4:00 a.m. to tell him that the operation had gone off successfully. Botha would then be responsible for issuing a press statement in which the Afrikaner Volkstaat Movement's demands would be made. However, Botha's telephone was left off the hook that night. Botha explained later that he had done so deliberately to avoid letting his wife know about the arrangement, Kriel said.

Shortly thereafter Volschenk was arrested in connection with the explosion at the police training farm, Melkbos. Kriel said that he immediately became worried, because he had had contact with Volschenk (the two had earlier both been AWB activists in the Eastern Transvaal together). At an earlier stage he and Volschenk had amassed an arsenal of explosives and during a meeting in Heidelberg between himself, Volschenk, and Koos Botha, he had told Volschenk that he had been responsible for the Hillview School bombing.

Kriel then gathered his men together and told them that the time had come to go underground. A farmer in the Karoo agreed to give them refuge and they started making arrangements to leave. On the evening of January 14, 1992, a person arrived at Piet Judeel's house and said that Piet Rudolph wanted to see them urgently. Unsuspectingly they accompanied the stranger to a location in the veld, where they were suddenly surrounded by security policemen. They were then tortured—sacks were placed over their heads and they were "cruelly assaulted," said Kriel. Hattingh lost consciousness several times during the torture.

Andre Odendaal stayed over that night at Kriel's house and early the next morning—on Kriel's forty-seventh birthday, the house was surrounded by police and he and Odendaal were arrested. Volschenk had obviously talked and had told the police everything.

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After some time in detention without trial, Kriel then made a statement after the police told him if he did not they would arrest Koos Botha and the two elderly people who lived on the farm near the Rooiwal Power Station. Kriel's statement, which he made before a magistrate, admitted his own involvement but he refused to name anybody else involved, saying that this would be treason.

He was eventually charged and released on bail of R3, 500—the bail for all three men being paid by Flip Buys personally (a total amount of R10, 500).

This money would however be forfeited when Kriel and his two comrades were later to skip bail. Kriel and his wife went to Knsnya where they stayed for several days in a ravine in the forest. The only person who knew of their presence there—and who supplied them with food and other items—was a "member of the Church of the Creator" said Kriel.

After visiting Koos Botha in Cape Town and going back to the Transvaal, Kriel eventually handed himself over to the police on condition that he once again be released on bail. This was eventually what happened—but the state had not yet heard the last of Andries Kriel.

Flip Buys went on to join a new pro-Afrikaner parliamentary party, the Freedom Front, which took part in the April 1994 one man one vote election. In 1995 Buys was appointed as full-time secretary general of that party, led by former army chief General Constand Viljoen.

In 2007, Buys was head of the Solidarity Trade Union in South Africa, an officially recognized and relatively powerful union in the country, catering mostly, but not exclusively, to White Afrikaner workers.

On January 15, 1992, another blast rocked the Vaal Reefs gold mine at Orkney. This time the air supply unit was targeted but the running of the mine was not seriously disrupted as the emergency backup system was immediately switched on.

On January 16, 1992, the police arrested a thirty-nine year old AWB commandant, Piet Nel, after a bomb failed to explode at a church school in Nelspruit. The explosive for this bomb was obtained by Nel and two other AWB men from a mine shaft at Breyten in the Eastern Transvaal. The men stole twenty-five kilograms of Anfax explosives and 140 electrical detonators from the mine. Initially they chose as target the offices of the Nelspruit municipality, but this target was dropped after a study of the target area showed that there was too much light at the site.

The Calvenie Assembly church school was then chosen because of its multiracial nature, and for maximum damage the explosives were placed in a corner where two walls joined together. After setting the detonator, the men left the scene, expecting the bomb to go off in an hour. However, it failed to go off, and Nel lost his nerve and telephoned the police, telling them who he was, and that there was a bomb at the school and he was handing himself over.

Nel then gave the police the names of his two accomplices, who were promptly arrested as well. After ten days in detention the three conspirators were released on bail and received twelve year suspended sentences in the resulting court case.

The Black township of Khutsong outside Carletonville in the South Western Transvaal had its power supply cut off by a huge blast which destroyed the only electricity power supply substation to the area on January 19, 1992.

A further three men—all former members of the AWB—were arrested by the police in connection with the bombs, bringing the total number of arrests to eleven. It was not long before most of the arrested men appeared in court and were released on bail amounts varying from R100 to R3, 500.

Immediately on his release Kriel said by way of a press statement that he represented the

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AVB and that the time was now ripe for the Volkstaat faction to participate in negotiations.

In a shock development in April 1992, Koos Botha, the member of parliament for Wonderboom and a longtime AWB member, was arrested by the police and charged with complicity in several blasts along with Andries Kriel. Botha admitted that he personally had helped place the bomb at the Hillview School in 1991.

Botha, who had just been expelled from the Conservative Party for openly supporting "Volkstate" policy instead of official CP policy, later admitted to being leader of the AVB. Although charged, he was never imprisoned. He applied for amnesty and received it in 1998.

The Potchefstroom by-election on February 19, 1992, marked a true turning point in White South African politics—and not in the favor of the right wing. The Conservative Party achieved a stunning win in the by-election, overturning a previous National Party majority of 1,500 into a CP majority of 2,140.

Badly stunned by the size of the swing—virtually unprecedented in South African White politics—the NP called out a snap referendum for March 17, 1992, asking White voters to either endorse or reject the government's negotiation process.

Although the CP did fight the referendum, it was initially wary of doing so. Strong arguments were made for nonparticipation, mainly based on the fact that the government could manipulate the state broadcasting services to its advantage, but after a stormy caucus meeting which very nearly ended in a split in the party, the CP finally came out in favor of participation.

The CP had nonetheless taken three days to decide to fight the referendum and Terre'Blanche took the indecisiveness as meaning that there would be no right-wing participation.

Addressing a Pretoria press club meeting before the final CP decision became known, Terre'Blanche predicted that the right would boycott the poll and told his journalistic audience that he was giving instructions to the AWB's Wenkommandos to physically smash up the polling booths, preventing "yes" voters from voting as well.

As can be imagined, this announcement caused considerable shockwaves around the country, but Terre'Blanche had to retract when it was announced a few hours after he made this statement that the CP would indeed participate in the referendum.

For the first time ever the entire right wing of the South African political spectrum united into one front to fight the referendum—of course calling for a no vote. Terre'Blanche, Treurnicht, and the HNP's Jaap Marais, all addressed a single press conference in Pretoria, spelling out their plans to form a united front against the National Party.

This formal alliance was to provide much grist to the yes vote campaign propaganda mill, which concentrated on the AWB's more extreme image to link the entire no vote campaign to Nazism. Full page advertisements appeared in every major newspaper calling the AWB Nazis and stressing that a no vote was a vote for the AWB. Without any doubt this propaganda played a major role in persuading many English-speaking voters to vote yes, and was one of the factors contributing to the overwhelming yes vote victory in the referendum.

The AWB not only featured in the NP's propaganda during the referendum, but it played an active part in campaigning as well. Terre'Blanche addressed meetings all over the country, separately and together with CP and HNP leaders. The most prominent of these was a mass meeting on Church Square in Pretoria on March 7, 1992. About five thousand people attended this rally, which was addressed by Treurnicht, Terre'Blanche, and Marais.

This rally was marked by Terre'Blanche falling off his horse when it slipped on the cobblestones of Church Square, providing the yes vote camp with an opportunity for some good

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puns later in the campaign.

Police in Pretoria scramble to get out of the way of an AWB horse charge in Pretoria, March 1992. It was at this meeting that Terre'Blanche's horse famously slipped, landing the AWB leader on the floor. This incident was later to be the subject of many jokes, and untrue allegations that Terre'Blanche was drunk at the time – he was not.

The rally ended with a march of several hundred Wenkommando members and a bit of drama when an AWB horse commando, Terre'Blanche included, charged through a police cordon after they had been refused permission to ride down a certain street in the city center. One policeman was slightly injured in this incident.

The referendum campaign was marked by a number of bomb blasts by right-wingers directed against left-wing targets. First to be attacked was a television and radio broadcasting tower in the Eastern Cape city of Port Elizabeth on March 8, 1992. Although the masthead of the tower was damaged in the attack (which consisted of two separate bombs) the broadcasting services were not interrupted.

On Friday, March 13, 1992, a powerful bomb destroyed a bus which was being used as an NP office in the Eastern Transvaal town of Cullinan. Police said an explosive device had been placed on the righthand rear wheel of the bus at about 3:00 a.m., and the resultant explosion had caused the gas tank to explode, completely gutting the bus and along with it NP records of the local area.

That same day a bomb destroyed the NP offices in the town of Nylstroom (situated in the North Western Transvaal). De Klerk was due to visit the area the following day but for obvious reasons the visit to this office was canceled.

On March 16, 1992, two blasts shook the private residences of the heads of two multiracial schools in the Eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit (scene of earlier bombings). In these blasts a Black gardener was killed and severe structural damage was caused to the two houses.

Terre'Blanche provided for another of the referendum shocks—a few days before polling

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day he addressed a joint press conference with the Transvaal leader of the Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Musa Myeni. Terre'Blanche announced that the AWB and Inkatha had concluded a "non-aggression pact" and that White voters could now vote no without fear of a "race war erupting."

The pact was short-lived when Buthelezi rejected it the next day and said it had been done without his knowledge or permission. Myeni then issued a statement saying he had not signed anything with Terre'Blanche and had only agreed to put the proposal of such a pact before the national executive of the IFP. The whole episode ended shabbily and Buthelezi was prompted to break a long silence on the referendum by calling for a yes vote.

It was this failed pact with the IFP that persuaded Piet Rudolph to once again leave the AWB. Shortly after the referendum, he resigned from the full-time post he had been given in the organization following his release from jail and engaged in yet another astonishing public attack on Terre'Blanche, saying he was unable to make rational decisions and that he caused the right wing and the AWB immense harm.

Despite the combined right's best efforts, the yes vote won the referendum comfortably. While there were several reasons for this: the short campaign time which disadvantaged the CP in particular, the television and printed media bias backing the yes vote, the amount of money spent by the two camps—some R1 million by the no vote camp as opposed to the R23 million spent by the yes vote camp, and the threats by foreign governments of renewed sanctions should the no vote win, the fact remains that fully 68 percent of White voters endorsed the government's reform process and only 32 percent did not.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN: THE DEATH OF CHRIS HANI

It took nearly a year for the right wing to overcome the huge physical and psychological defeat inflicted on them by the March 1992 referendum, and a period of relative inactivity lasted for just under a year after the polling.

However, a dramatic event which took place on Easter Saturday 1993 jolted the entire right wing back into activity and once again placed them at the top of the political agenda. This event was the assassination of Chris Hani, South African Communist Party secretary general and former commander of the ANC's armed wing, outside his Boksburg home on April 10, 1993.

Hani, who was without any doubt the most popular Black politician in South Africa after ANC president Nelson Mandela himself, was gunned down in the driveway of his home in Hakea crescent, Dawn Park, Boksburg, at 10:20 a.m.

Hani had just returned from a local corner store to buy a newspaper and had just got out of his car when a red Ford Laser driven by a White male pulled up behind him in the driveway.

Only calling out his name "Mr. Hani"— at which Hani turned round—the White man stepped out from his car, pulled out a 9mm pistol and shot Hani once in the body. The assassin then stepped forward very close to Hani and shot him a further three times in the head. He then calmly got back into his car, reversed out of the driveway and sped off in the direction of the Boksburg city center.

However, a neighbor (Hani lived in a racially mixed residential area), an Afrikaner woman by the name of Retha Harmse, just happened to pull out of her driveway at the instant that the shots were fired, and managed to note down what she thought was the assassin's license plate number. She ran back into her house and telephoned the police, giving them the number.

Although the number she had noted down (PBX 137T) was in fact not the number that was on the assassin's car (PBX 131T), it was close enough to provide the vital clue which enabled the police to arrest the assassin ten minutes later on the main road passing the Boksburg city hall. Alert policemen on patrol spotted the car moving through the traffic and pulled it over.

Inside they found Janus Jacub Waluz, a Polish immigrant to South Africa. Waluz was a signed up member of the AWB. Also in the car they found a pistol and a silencer, and stick on numbers which were later shown to be designed to be used as temporary false number plates.

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Chris Hani, former commander of the ANC's armed wing which had led the ANC's guerilla war against White South Africa, lies dead in his driveway after being gunned down by an AWB member, Janus Waluz.

It was later established by the police that Waluz had used one of the stick on numbers, a seven, on the last number of his license plate, changing it from PBX 131T to PBX 137T during the asassination.

Waluz was taken into detention but initially denied all knowledge of the assassination, nor of how the weapon and other items came to be in his car. He then however made a verbal confession of his actions to a policeman who he thought was a right-winger. In this verbal confession he told the police that although he had committed the act by himself, another prominent right-winger, Clive Derby-Lewis, had helped him with providing the weapon. The policeman he told this to was however no right-winger, and promptly reported Waluz's conversation to the investigating officer in the case.

Forensic tests were immediately carried out and it was established that the fatal bullets had indeed been fired from the gun found in his possession.

Cordite was also found on a pair of gloves found in Waluz's car, indicating that he had just fired some shots, and blood, the group type of which matched that of Hani's, was found in his clothes.

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Waluz's residence—an apartment in Pretoria—was then searched, and amongst his papers was found a computer printout list of names, which had been numbered by hand in an apparent order of priority—with Hani being listed as number three.

Also on the list were the names and addresses of Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo (chairman of the South African Communist Party), Judge Richard Goldstone (who headed an independent commission of enquiry into violence in South Africa and who was seen by right-wingers to be biased in favor of the left wing, and a number of liberal journalists working on Afrikaans daily and weekly newspapers.

It was quickly established that the firearm which had been used to shoot Hani—and which was found in Waluz's possession—was one of the guns which had been stolen from the South African Air Force armory in 1990 during the "Piet Rudolph" heist.

The news that it was an air force gun caused an unknown informant within right-wing circles in Cape Town to volunteer the information to the police that he knew that a certain right-winger in Cape Town, Keith Darrol, had handled such a gun for Conservative Party President's Councilor Clive Derby-Lewis and had also had a silencer fitted to this gun.

Based on this information and what Waluz had said, the police, after a six-day investigation, managed to link the gun, the silencer, and the list to Clive Derby-Lewis, then still living in the West Rand town of Krugersdorp. Derby-Lewis was arrested on the evening of April 17, 1993. The police took with them both his computer and that of his wife, Gaye Derby-Lewis, as well as a number of personal documents and papers.

Although Clive Derby-Lewis was advised by his legal representative not to make any statements, he did make an oral statement to a warrant officer, Beetge, in which he named four people—Arthur Kemp (the author of this book) as the person who had drawn up the list which had been found in Waluz's possession; Faan Venter and Lionel Du Randt (two right-wingers from the West Rand) who had provided the firearm, and Keith Darrol from the Western Cape who had provided the silencer.

Clive Derby-Lewis stressed to Warrant Officer Beetge that none of these people he had named knew anything about the plan to assassinate Hani or anybody else. Nonetheless, all four were detained by police for questioning along with two more people—Gaye Derby-Lewis and Edwin Clarke, a computer engineer friend of the Derby-Lewis's—early in the morning of April 21, 1993.

A week later, after a police announcement that they were looking for him, Keith Darrol turned himself over to the police after they detained his pregnant wife until he handed himself over. Gaye Derby-Lewis was arrested on the basis of her diary and a list of names (without addresses) which was found on her computer.

The author of this book confirmed to the police that Gaye Derby-Lewis had indeed approached him to ask if he could help with some names and addresses in January 1993. She had, the author said, faxed through to his then place of work, *The Citizen* daily newspaper, a list containing nineteen names, including that of Hani. The author of this book had only known nine of the subject's addresses, and testified that although he had not asked Gaye Derby-Lewis at that stage why she wanted the addresses, on the basis of previous conversations he had had with her, he understood that they were to be used merely for research purposes, as she was also a journalist by profession.

The author of this book also confirmed that he had been told by the Derby-Lewis's on April 12, that the list which had been found in Waluz's possession was the one which he had earlier in the year given them. After two days in detention, the police released the author of this

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book unconditionally, advising him only to be prepared to testify in the resultant trial.

The police soon realized that Edwin Clarke also had nothing to do with the whole affair, and released him within hours of his original detention.

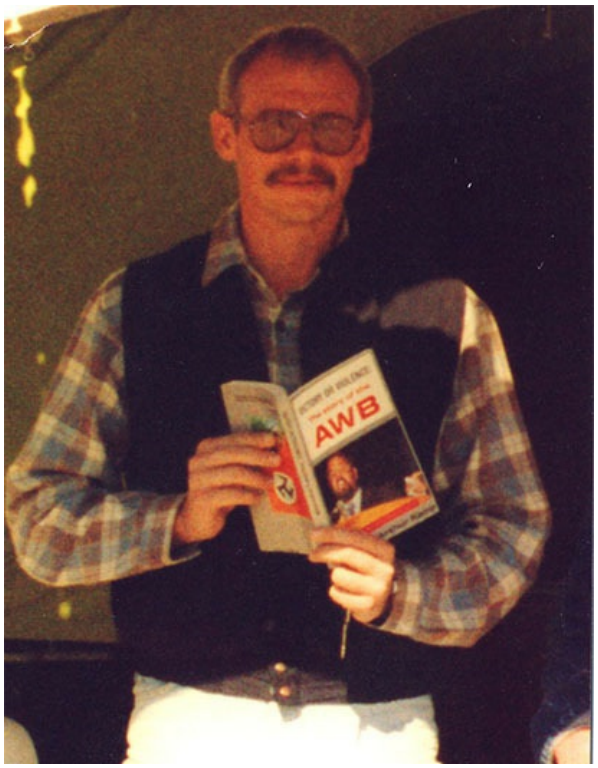
After being told to do so by Clive Derby-Lewis at a special visit arranged by the police while both men were in detention, Venter confirmed that he had given the gun to Derby-Lewis (through Du Randt).

Venter also told the police that he had originally been given the gun by Gene Taylor—one of the men who had helped Piet Rudolph to raid the air force armory in April 1990.

Du Randt was also released the same day he was arrested, while Venter was released the next day along with the author of this book. Keith Darrol confirmed to the police that he had had the silencer fitted to the weapon after having been given it by Clive Derby-Lewis, and that he had returned it after having the silencer fitted by a gunsmith friend of his, Gavin Smith from Cape Town. Darrol was, along with the already named people, released, and they were all ordered to appear in court to testify as to what their role had been.

Only Waluz, Gaye, and Clive Derby-Lewis remained in detention, and they were soon charged with four offences—murder, conspiracy to commit murder, the illegal possession of a firearm, and illegal possession of ammunition.

Gaye Derby-Lewis was, after nearly three months in detention, granted bail of R30, 000 and warned to appear at the trial, which, after an initial postponement, was set down finally for October 4, 1993, in the Rand Supreme Court. Neither Clive Derby-Lewis nor Waluz applied for bail.



Janus Waluz, photographed in 1990 holding a copy of the first print edition of this book.

The assassination of Chris Hani, along with the fact that the alleged assassin himself was an AWB member, nearly plunged the country into a race war. Gun sales shot up as nervous Whites panicked and bought up as many firearms as they could, and on the day of Hani's funeral

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nearly every major city center in South Africa was ransacked by enraged mobs.

The all night vigil held for Hani at the First National Bank stadium outside Soweto ended in carnage with mobs of Black youths setting fire to nearby houses and attacking passing cars. At least two people died in these disturbances, which necessitated riot police intervention. One of the White men burned to death in one of the houses turned out to be a member of the AWB's orchestra.

Hani was buried at the South Park cemetery on the East Rand, not too far from his Boksburg home. The AWB activated its East Rand commando unit on the day of the burial, and heavily armed AWB men could be seen standing guard over the White residential properties lining the route. Police were forced to keep the AWB contingent apart from the mourners, who commandeered buses, taxis and any vehicles they could find in their attempts to travel from the stadium to the burial site.

Terre'Blanche took advantage of the resultant turmoil in the country and more than once during his public meetings at that time told his audiences that if "Hani had not been shot, then if there was a state of war, I would have done it myself!"

These remarks, captured on film at a meeting in Port Elizabeth, almost resulted in an incitement charge being leveled against the AWB leader after the clip was shown on national television.

The trial finally started on its due date, and the state's case against Gaye Derby-Lewis soon proved to be fairly hopeless. No evidence of any kind was led linking her to the murder or to the illegal possession of firearm and ammunition charges, while the only evidence linking her to the conspiracy charge was the so-called "hit list" which had been found in Waluz's apartment.

However, both the author of this book and Gaye Derby-Lewis denied in court that this list had been drawn up as a hit list, and Waluz, through his legal representative, told the court that he had obtained the list by accident from the Derby-Lewis house after he had removed a newspaper from their filing room which had contained (unbeknown to himself or the Derby-Lewis's) the list within its pages.

Gaye herself testified that after she had obtained the list from the author of this book, she had put it down in her filing room and had forgotten about it until she had read in the paper that a list had been found in Waluz's flat after the assassination. She said that she had then started looking for her list, and was worried when she did not find it.

As a result of this being the only evidence against her, and coupled with her defense, the court found her not guilty on all the charges and ordered her immediate release, which created another storm as ANC leaders had demanded that she be found guilty.

It later transpired that what in fact had happened was that Clive Derby-Lewis had taken the list from his wife's files and had given it to Waluz—but this fact was only to emerge during the 1998 amnesty application by the two men.

Clive Derby-Lewis and Waluz were acquitted on the conspiracy charges, with the court finding that there was not enough evidence to convict them on that charge, but did however find them guilty on the murder and illegal possession of firearm and ammunition charges. The two men were sentenced to death on Friday, October 16, 1993, which in reality means life imprisonment as there has been a moratorium on executions in South Africa since 1990. This moratorium was made permanent in 1995.

Clive Derby-Lewis immediately instituted an appeal against his conviction, but this appeal was rejected by the appeal court.

Both Waluz and Derby-Lewis applied for amnesty in 1996 under terms of a new amnesty

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law created with the introduction of the new constitution in April 1994. The amnesty application was finally heard during the second part of 1997, concluding in February 1998. Both men fully confessed their role in the assassination.

An interesting side note which emerged during this amnesty hearing was a statement from a senior national intelligence agency—previously the National Intelligence Service—that they had used one of their operatives to spy on the then writings of the author of this book.

Their applications for amnesty were refused in April 1999, and an appeal against the amnesty decision was also turned down in 2005. As of 2012, both men were still detained in Pretoria Central Prison.

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CHAPTER TWENTY: THE WORLD TRADE CENTER INVASION

Apart from nearly plunging South Africa into a full scale race war, the Hani assassination also energized the entire right wing. Virtually immediately after Hani's death right-wing activity began to increase with renewed vigor.

Politically the most significant development was the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)—the Afrikaner National Front, with former police and army generals as its leaders (including the former head of the South African army, Constand Viljoen, and a senior officer in the Department of Military Intelligence, Tienie Groenewald—who also happened to be the brother of former AWB deputy leader, Jan Groenewald).

This group achieved unity amongst right-wing groupings, and although it became dragged into secret bilateral negotiations with both the then South African government and the ANC in late 1993, it served a significant role in helping to put the right wing back on the political map after the March 1992 referendum defeat.

One of the parties invited to join the AVF was of course the AWB, which didn't sit too comfortably with the intellectual approach offered by the generals. An excellent example of how the AWB and the generals differed in approach was the invasion of the Johannesburg World Trade Center on June 25, 1993.

The World Trade Center was situated next to the main Johannesburg airport, in the town of Kempton Park on the East Rand, about thirty kilometers outside Johannesburg. There, since 1990, ongoing negotiations had been held between most parties in South Africa in an attempt to come to some sort of political settlement, and the name "Kempton Park" and the "World Trade Center" had become synonymous with negotiation.

The AVF announced that a public protest meeting was to take place outside the huge building on June 25, 1993, and that the AVF leaders, Terre'Blanche included, were to hand over a petition to the main negotiating forum demanding that they take cognizance of the demands of the AVF for the accommodation of Afrikaner nationalism.

The AWB however arrived in full force, and of the approximately six thousand right-wingers who attended the rally, at least three quarters were AWB supporters. The AWB also arrived with a commercially available armored vehicle (usually used for transporting cash and valuables by private security companies) called a Viper. The police had seen this vehicle at other AWB rallies before, and were therefore not too concerned about its appearance.

The security controls at the gates to the World Trade Center grounds were fairly secure, with police only letting official delegates through. However, just before 9:00 a.m., a car driven by a right-winger followed an official delegate's car through the gate, stopping at a critical point in the crossing which prevented the police from closing the gate.

This was the chance the crowd had been waiting for, and immediately they stormed through into the center grounds, heading straight for the building housing the negotiation chamber, which by that time of day was already in use by the official delegates.

AVF leading figure General Constand Viljoen tried in vain to stop the crowd from marching on the building, but they stoically ignored him. The Viper armored vehicle then entered the grounds through the by now abandoned gates and drove in front of the crowd right up to the glass fronted building, where a thin line of uniformed policemen were attempting to hold back the crowd. Terre'Blanche himself, dressed in full camouflage uniform, came riding in on top of the Viper.

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A dramatic picture which captures the drama leading up to the events at the World Trade Center: A line of policemen form up outside the building, with the huge AWB crowd facing them, partially reflected in the mirror glass above the doors.

After a very short while the heavily outnumbered and outgunned police retreated inside the building, and almost immediately the Viper smashed in through the glass doors, opening a large hole through which hundreds of uniformed right-wingers stormed.

The mainly AWB crowd rampaged through the building, eventually finding their way into the negotiation chamber itself, which had been hastily abandoned by the delegates. The police decided not to act and merely sent in their own video teams to film as many people in the crowd as possible to try and pick them up at a later stage.

The AWB storms the World Trade Center, June 25, 1993. Below,a series of stills from a video taken of the AWB's Viper armored vehicle smashing its way through the doors of the World Trade Center, followed by AWB troops. The attack was totally unexpected and police inside the building fell back in surprise. Delegates inside the center fled and hid in a back room as armed AWB men and women poured in.

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Inside the building and negotiation chamber the AWB men and women rifled through files, briefcases and even helped themselves to soft drinks they found in a fridge, while the official delegates cowered in locked back rooms, hoping that the mob would not find them. Some right-wingers came prepared with spray paint tins, and sprayed rightwing slogans on the walls of the building. A Sunday newspaper journalist later made the allegation that the AWB crowd had urinated on the floors of the negotiation chamber, something which was definitely untrue.

The Viper was left parked in the building's entrance foyer for a short while, and then was escorted out of the grounds once again by a phalanx of Iron Guard men, many wearing balaclavas. The police however managed to later trace the Viper and seized it as evidence to be used in the charge of public violence and trespassing which was later instituted against AWB members whom the police were able to identify.

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Terre'Blanche makes his appearance at the World Trade Centee grounds after his men had forced their way in.

While all this was going on, Terre'Blanche, General Constand Viljoen, General Tienie Groenewald, and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg had proceeded to hand over their memorandum—as had originally been the point of the protest meeting—to government representatives. However, in view of the far more dramatic events taking place all around the building, the memorandum was completely ignored by the media, and nothing ever came of it. It was also clear from the look on the faces of Viljoen, Groenewald, and Hartzenberg, that they were less than impressed with the AWB's actions that day.

Later it became obvious that the World Trade Center incident marked the start of the parting of the ways between Viljoen and his supporters and the AWB.

After several hours, Terre'Blanche appeared in the chamber and ordered his men to leave as they had made their point and the petition had been handed over. The AWB men then left the building, formed columns outside on the grass area and simply marched away, band playing, leaving behind a severely damaged building and many frightened delegates and officials.

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The AWB takes over the main conference room where the negotiations to hand over to the ANC were taking place, June 25, 1993. Below: The graffiti on the wall reads "Own People, Own Nation."

Not one shot had been fired, and no one had been hurt—apart from the Indian Amichand Rajbansi (the same one who had in the mid 1980s been accused of threatening Terre'Blanche's life in the famous "Rajbansi letter" incident) getting an open handed smack in the face from a hooded AWB man when he wandered into the negotiation chamber at the height of the AWB occupation.

The fallout from the invasion was great and almost caused a split in the ranks of the AVF, with a decision being taken asking the AWB to leave the organization of its own accord. However, the AVF leadership soon realized that the AWB action had overwhelming popular support amongst the right-wing public, and dropped the demand.

Eventually twenty-seven AWB men were charged with trespassing as a result of the invasion,

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but the state's case against them began to go badly awry when the first nine accused were acquitted of the charge on January 5, 1994, in the Kempton Park magistrate's court.

The magistrate, W.H. Olivier, found that the state had failed to prove unlawfulness on the part of the accused. He said that while he had no doubt that during the invasion people there had indeed trespassed, there was no conclusive evidence implicating the accused. It had not been proven that any of those charged had been involved in the initial breaking of the glass doors, or had been in the armored vehicle. It was possible that they had, as they had testified, arrived on the scene afterwards and had gained the impression that the center was open to the public and had merely joined their colleagues.

One of the other eighteen accused was AWB chief of staff (he had replaced Servaas de Wet earlier in that year) and Wenkommando general Dirk Ackerman. He however disappeared the day after the World Trade Center incident and only on September 11, 1993, did the police arrest him—along with three other AWB men for complicity in several plots, including one to kill the leader of the ANC's youth wing, Peter Mokaba, a plan to bomb the Koeberg nuclear power station outside Cape Town, and a plan to steal armored vehicles and heavy weaponry from an army base in the Northern Cape.

Ackerman was also charged with planting a bomb outside the Johannesburg magistrate's courts on the day of the first court appearance by the remaining seventeen AWB men involved in the World Trade Center invasion. Ackerman was given bail of R20, 000 by the Bloemfontein supreme court on the terrorism charges, but was immediately re-detained by the police in connection with the World Trade Center invasion. He next applied for bail on December 28 in Johannesburg.

During this application, Ackerman denied that he had tried to evade the police after the World Trade Center invasion, although he did admit to leaving his Brandfort, Orange Free State, home. He admitted that he had shaved off his beard, changed his glasses, cut and colored his hair, and had gone to Natal, but he had done this to avoid being recognized by the security police rather than to hamper the investigation into the World Trade Center incident.

Aware that he was also wanted by the police for questioning, he admitted to faxing a letter to police Major Piet van Schalkwyk of Welkom, in which the policeman was told to "go to hell." In a reference to the St. James Church massacre (where Black gunmen had opened fire and killed several Whites attending a church service in Cape Town) Ackerman continued in his letter:

"Rather look for kaffirs who shoot White people in churches. Then perhaps you will earn your salary. Tell your bosses to stop chasing the Boers, because one of these days their fingers will be badly burnt," the letter read.

Ackerman told the court that he had given up the position of AWB chief of staff (in fact he had, giving that job to his old friend and fellow Orange Free State AWB general, Alex Cruywagen). His arguments did not convince the presiding magistrate, Miss D. Smith, and bail was denied. Undeterred, Ackerman reapplied for bail on January 10, 1994, and was finally granted it on condition that he pay another R10, 000 (in addition to the R20, 000 he had paid earlier) and report to the Brand fort police station on a daily basis.

Eventually all of the AWB men except for Ackerman and Cruywagen were acquitted on all counts relating to the World Trade Center invasion, with the state being unable to show that there had been a conspiracy. The two AWB generals were identified by the court as having been the occupants of the armored car when it had been driven through the doors, and were found guilty

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of public violence. They were given suspended sentences.

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CHAPTER TWENTY ONE: THE STORM BREWS

The last few months of 1993 and the first quarter of 1994 saw the negotiation process between the government and the ANC reach finality. The way was at last prepared for the final transition to Black rule in South Africa. This reality saw a marked increase in right-wing activity during the same period which resulted in a greater number of violent incidents than ever before taking place.

In the last week of September 1993 two bomb blasts occurred: one destroyed a power substation in Vereeniging, while the other killed a policeman and wounded another outside a shopping center patronized mainly by Indians in Cullinan, Transvaal. Three AWB men were arrested for that bombing.

About the same time three more right-wingers were arrested at the Mozambique and South Africa border post after a huge shipment of illegal firearms (AK-47s) was discovered hidden in the vehicle in

which they were travelling.

The introduction of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on December 7, 1993, to govern South Africa in the run up to the first one man one vote election, was marked by a new spate of right-wing activity.

First to grab the headlines was the Pretoria Boere Kommando (PBK), an armed unit of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (under the leadership of former AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald). Many former AWB men made up the membership of the PBK. On the morning that the Transitional Executive Council, comprising members of all the parties that had taken part in the multi-party negotiations, met for the first time, the PBK occupied a military fort just outside Pretoria.

The fort dated from the time of the Boer president Paul Kruger, who had had it built to try and ward off a British invasion prior to the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1899. The fort, Fort Schanschop, situated just to the south of Pretoria and on the hill next to the Voortrekker Monument, was being used as a museum but still had SA defense force personnel manning it.

The PBK contingent occupied the fort just before 5:00 a.m. on December 7, ejecting the half asleep SADF personnel guarding the complex. It had been the intention of the PBK, under the operational command of a former 32 battalion commandant, Willem Ratte, to occupy the fort until December 16, when a large right-wing meeting was planned at the Voortrekker Monument. The Afrikaner Volksfront generals, Constand Viljoen and Kobus Visser, intervened and asked the rightwingers to leave the fort immediately to avoid conflict.

The resulting standoff with police and army units surrounding the fort only lasted until the next morning, when Ratte and the majority of his men crept away before light under the cover of a rainstorm.

Although the fort occupation passed without incident, it had been made clear that the right wing was not going to take the introduction of the TEC lying down.

On December 11, 1993, a commercial explosive blast brought down a high tension electricity supply power line in Boksburg South, East Rand. The huge pylon, which had three of its four legs torn off in the blast, crashed down onto a major arterial route into that town. The blast took place before midnight and there was still a considerable amount of traffic. A minibus taxi, carrying Black revelers home from a party, hit the dangling power lines at 11:30 p.m. It was thrown backwards by the force of the impact, and two passengers were killed. The explosion

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caused a power blackout in four surrounding towns—Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan and parts of Germiston—which lasted for over an hour.

On December 13, 1993, a particularly gruesome terror attack took place on the West Rand. The incident started at just before 5:00 a.m. that day when White men, in a yellow pickup and a light colored Mercedes Benz, forced two cars carrying Black passengers off the road at an intersection on the Randfontein—Ventersdorp road. The White men were all wearing camouflage uniforms, causing the Black civilians to think that they had driven into a police roadblock. They were very much mistaken. The uniformed Whites forced the Blacks out at gunpoint, and after lining them up next to their cars, started shooting indiscriminately. Two of the victims died on the scene, while a third, who had had his ear cut off during the attack, died later in hospital as the result of his wounds.

The police offered a R200, 000 reward for any information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible. Suspicion for the deed fell immediately upon the AWB because of the camouflage uniforms the attackers had been wearing, although none of the survivors reported seeing any AWB insignia.

The AWB was invited to take part in the Day of the Vow celebrations being organized by the Afrikaner Volksfront over December 15 and 16 of that year. Terre'Blanche himself spoke on the evening of December 15 at the Voortrekker Monument to a crowd of about six thousand people, and during his speech warned that the AWB was "ready to fight" and did not fear a war "to correct the treason against Afrikanerdom." The next few months would show how true this was.

His speech was preceded by a display put on by the Rooi Valke (Red Falcons); the AWB women's armed unit; and an impressive drill, self defense, and physical fitness demonstration put on by the black uniformed Iron Guard.

On December 22, 1993, at 11:25 p.m. an explosion took place on a Western Transvaal railway line near the town of Orkney, derailing eleven freight cars and thereafter disrupting trains as far afield as Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, and Johannesburg. The blast took place on the Leeudoringstad—Klerksdorp line, leaving a 1.5 m by 1.6 m hole in the ground where the track had been.

On December 24, 1993, an empty passenger train traveling in the Johannesburg Soweto line triggered an explosive device set on the railway tracks near the New Canada station. Four coaches were derailed in this incident, but there were no injuries.

On December 30, 1993, a blast tore a hole in the wall of a store catering mainly to Black miners at the Saaiplaas gold mine near Virginia in the Orange Free State.

On December 31, the police arrested five AWB men, including the Witwatersrand Wenkommando general, Japie Oelofse, in connection with several alleged acts of sabotage. Investigations led to the detention of four more AWB men, and all nine finally appeared in court on January 11, 1994, charged with causing four explosions—the first at an electricity substation at Munsieville, the black township bordering Krugersdorp; the second in the main street of Krugersdorp; the third at a Transvaal Provincial Administration truck scale in Krugersdorp; and the last at an electrical substation in Pretoria.

On January 3, 1994, the municipal offices at Swartruggens in the Northern Transvaal were damaged in a bomb blast.

On January 6, 1994, the police arrested nine AWB members in connection with the attack on the Black motorists outside Randfontein. The men: Chief Commandant Phil Kloppers, Commandant

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Deon Martin, Candidate Officer Gert Diederichs, Piet Matthews, Andre Visser, Etienne Visser, Carol Meiring, Marthinus van der Schyff, and Jaco Badenhorst, all appeared in court on January 17, 1994.

The charge sheet alleged that the men had put on traffic police badges and had put a blue light on the roof of one of their cars to give the impression that the roadblock had been legal.

At 9:30 p.m. on Saturday, January 8, 1994, commercial explosives destroyed a bridge over the Orkney—Klerksdorp railway line and derailed nineteen freight cars on a passing train. Some of the limestone being transported was lost, and the total damage was estimated at some R3 million.

On January 14, 1994, a bomb badly damaged the ANC's offices in the town of Harrismith Orange Free State. This blast was followed with a bomb blast at the ANC offices in Bothaville, in the North Western Orange Free State, on January 17, 1994. The explosion, which took place at 9:50 p.m., caused major damage to the ANC offices and sixty-nine other shops in the Von Abu Center in the town center. Damage was estimated at R200, 000.

On January 18, 1994, at four minutes past midnight, a bomb made of commercial explosives destroyed six sleeper cars and two meters of track on the railway line between Orkney and Potchefstroom.

The damage was estimated at R50, 000. No trains were derailed in the incident, but delays were caused while the damage was repaired.

Early in the morning of January 19, 1994, an electricity supply pylon on the line between Potchefstroom and Buffels East was severely damaged in a bomb blast. Although the tower did not fall, the damage was severe enough to cause a one and half hour power blackout to Potchefstroom. Damage was estimated at R60, 000.

Also on January 19, 1994, at 10:45 p.m. a bomb exploded outside the home of Cas Human, a White ANC member in the Orange Free State town of Harrismith. Human later became an ANC government official in the provincial government of the Free State after the ANC took power.

On January 21, 1994, at 2:30 a.m. a bomb destroyed two legs of a power pylon near Stilfontein in the Western Transvaal. Damage to the pylon was estimated at R500, 000. After this blast, police issued a R100, 000 reward for any information leading to the arrest of the persons responsible for the continued bombing campaign in that part of the country.

Also on January 21, 1994, a bomb detonated on the railway line between Kroonstad and Hennemann in the Orange Free State. No trains were damaged in the blast, which caused the now usual delays.

Early the next morning, on January 22, 1994, a power pylon near Randfontein was toppled by a bomb blast. Damage was estimated at R60, 000 in this incident. On January 26, 1994, the well-known luxury train, the Diamond Express, which operates between Kimberly and Johannesburg, was brought to a halt by a blast on the railway line near Orkney in the Western Transvaal. Although the train was not derailed when it passed over the blast site, this was only because the bomb blew a relatively small piece of track away—some 45 centimeters.

On January 28, 1994, two further blasts occurred on railway lines in the Western Transvaal. The first blew a 70 cm hole in the track on the Orkney—Leeudoringstad line, while the second took place at New Machavie, near Potchefstroom. On January 31, 1994, the railway line between Harrisburg and Leeudoringstad was damaged in a bomb blast. Damage was estimated at R20, 000.

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On February 1, 1994, the railway line between Koppies and Kroonstad in the Orange Free State was bombed, causing damage estimated at R20, 000.

On February 2, 1994, two powerful bombs, which detonated seconds apart, destroyed the offices of two Black dominated (and ANC supporting) trade unions in the Western Transvaal town of Klerksdorp shortly before 1:00 a.m. No one was injured in the blasts, which police said had been caused by between 10 and 15 kilograms of explosives placed in metal containers and put in front of the doors of the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa.

Police found shrapnel from the blast up to two blocks away from the two double story buildings which faced each other in the town center. Windows in the radius of four blocks were shattered while at least seven overhead power lines were also destroyed. The blast also damaged an underground water pipe which then spurted an arc of water across the street. The trade union offices themselves were virtually destroyed in the blasts which caused in excess of half a million rands damage.

Also on that day, a small bomb exploded next to an ANC election advertising board just outside the AWB headquarters town of Ventersdorp; the National Union of Mineworkers offices in Harrismith, Orange Free State, were slightly damaged in a bomb blast; and the ANC offices in Parys, Orange Free State were bombed during the early morning. Damage was estimated at R5 000.

On February 3, 1994, a community hall at Groot Marico, also in the Western Transvaal, was bombed at 11:30 p.m. Police estimated the damage at between R50, 000 and R80, 000 with the windows, roof, and floors being completely blown out.

On the same day, another bomb exploded at the Delareyville taxi stand (where the Black-used minibuses park) but there was virtually no damage inflicted; the ANC offices outside Ottosdal were severely damaged in a bomb blast which injured two people, with damage estimated at R80, 000. Also several shops belonging to Indian traders were gasoline bombed in that town, and a gasoline bomb which was thrown at the National Party supporting mayor of Potchefstroom, Willie Viljoen, failed to explode.

Damage of more than R150, 000 was caused to an overhead power line near Viervontein in the Orange Free State when two devices exploded there. A further two devices were defused by police on the site.

On February 4, 1994, a bomb exploded at the home Jan Serfontein, an ANC supporting White farmer outside Potchefstroom, and a bomb destroyed a piece of railway track on the Makwassie railway line near Leeudoringstad at 10:45 p.m. Three railway coaches were derailed in the blast, but no one was injured. Also, three charges of explosives detonated at an electricity supply pylon in Holfontein, on the Ventersdor—Vlakdrif road, causing a power failure in the Western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg. Damage was estimated at R500, 000.

On February 5, 1994, an electricity supply pylon was toppled in a 9:00 p.m. blast outside the Orange Free State town of Bothaville. Damage was estimated at around R5,000.

On February 7, 1994, the police swooped on five right-wingers in Orkney and Welkom. When police knocked on the door of the house of one of the suspects, a shotgun was fired through the door at the policemen outside. A policeman caught the blast full in the chest, but because he had taken the precaution of wearing a bulletproof jacket, he only suffered minor bruising. Police returned the fire, wounding the right-winger, who was then arrested.

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On February 9, 1994, five more men were arrested, including a medical doctor from Klerksdorp. Two of the arrested men, one a member of the AWB and the other a member of the splinter group the Boere Weerstandbeweging (BWB), were caught red-handed planting a bomb in Potgietersrus outside a doctor's consulting rooms. Another two men were arrested for this incident in follow-up operations, and all four appeared in court on February 17, were charged with terrorism, and released on R1, 000 bail each.

The arrests followed another two blasts, one at the home of Cas Human, the White ANC member whose house had been bombed once before, and at a Virginia, Orange Free State, auto bank teller.

The medical doctor, Marthinus Maartens, gave himself up to the police after his house was raided by police on February 6, 1994. A number of items were confiscated, including rubbish from his garage. One of the items confiscated was an AWB questionnaire concerning membership of the AWB's air wing.

Dr. Maartens's wife, Louisa, brought an application to the Supreme Court the next day to have him released as there was no reason to suspect him of involvement in any crime. The regional commander of the Crime Information Service of the police (the new name for the old security police) in the Western Transvaal, Colonel Cornelius McDuling, opposed the application, stating in papers before the court that Dr. Maartens had been a main figure in the planning of twenty-two explosions in the Western Transvaal since November 1993.

McDuling said that according to his information, Maartens had been involved in the manufacture of large quantities of explosives according to a scientific formula in his possession, the manufacture of hand grenades, pipe bombs and other explosive devices, and the secret stockpiling of these homemade explosives and devices.

Investigations at the scenes of the explosions in question had revealed that most of them had been caused by homemade explosive devices such as pipe bombs, McDuling said. The policeman said that according to his information, other people who had been involved in the explosions had stayed on Maartens's farm where they had allegedly made the explosive devices. He said the explosives had been made from diesel, silver paint, fertilizer, and fuses. During a raid on Maartens's farm at Palmietfontein, where two people were arrested, police allegedly found two pipe bombs that were not loaded with explosives, and components for more.

Finally on February 17, 1994, Maartens was released without bail after being charged with terrorism. In the court ruling, Judge Spoelstra said it was noticeable on reading the affidavits filed by the police that "most of their claims were vague and that the nature, content, and source of information" was not revealed.

He added that the most glaring absence in the police affidavits was any facts to show in which way Dr. Maartens could be linked to the explosions, and that general statements by the police were "totally inadequate for the court to decide if there had been a reasonable suspicion to arrest and detain Dr. Maartens."

Eventually, after several years' ongoing litigation, the state failed to prove its case and Maartens was discharged.

On February 15,1994, at 4:00 a.m. a bomb caused more than R20, 000 damage to a bridge over the Sishen Saldanha railway line in the Northern Cape. The railway line itself remained intact, but the bridge was badly damaged. Later that same morning another bomb was found outside the ANC offices in the Northern Cape Town of Kuruman. Police defused this device at 7:20 a.m.

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before it could go off.

Shortly thereafter police arrested Andries Kriel—the same man who had been arrested and released on bail for the Hillview School and other bombings—as being the mastermind behind two cells in the western Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Incredibly enough, Kriel was given bail once again after a short period in detention.

Over the weekend of March 6–7, 1994, large quantities of weapons were stolen from an air force base at Voortrekkerhoogte, the main defense force base outside Pretoria.

A total of 155 heavy caliber weapons were stolen in this heist—more than double that which Piet Rudolph had managed to steal in 1990. Shortly thereafter, police announced that their prime suspect in the case was one Thys “kaalvoet” (barefoot) De Villiers—a former army reconnaissance unit man who was also an AWB member. It would be more than eighteen months before the police would catch up with him.

Foremost AWB militant, Dries Kriel, left, receives a medal from Wenkommando chief, Servaas de Wet, at an AWB rally in Pretoria in 1994. Kriel was, without question, the single most active AWB saboteur during the period 1990-1994, and organized a great number of AWB bombing teams which operated in the Orange Free States and Transvaal.

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CHAPTER TWENTY TWO: THE SECESSION PLAN—AND WHY IT FAILED

By the beginning of 1994, it was obvious that South Africa's first multiracial election was definitely going to take place at the end of April of that year—despite the insistence of both the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)—which included the AWB—that they would not participate.

In response to this, the AVF drew up elaborate plans to secede in a large part of the Transvaal—with the cooperation of twenty-one right-wing controlled town councils in the Western Transvaal. According to the plan, the Conservative Party controlled councils were to seize their assets to prevent them from falling into the hands of the central government—this included finances and other resources. For this latter purpose, a plan was drawn up whereby all the CP controlled local authorities would, at a given signal, transfer their assets into a "Volks bank" which would then finance the UDI attempt.

They would then form the political spearhead of a "Boer Unilateral Declaration of Independence" in the Western Transvaal. General Constand Viljoen, who as a member of the AVF's inner circle, was fully aware of the plans and was even tasked to secure the loyalty and support of the South African Defense force's citizen call up units. Although he later denied it, he was also tasked with gathering together a number of serving and recently retired army and police generals to take command of the military side of the UDI. (Viljoen did manage to gather together a considerable number of such generals, but instead of leading them into the UDI attempt, eventually literally led them to a polling booth at the main army base, Voortrekkerhoogte, on polling day in April 1994.)

The AWB for its part was entrusted with the physical occupation of the towns, which were mostly concentrated within the Transvaal. AWB forces were to be deployed in the towns at strategic points controlling access to the centers, and would form the "shock troops" to ward off any state reaction to the planned UDI.

The idea of the Boer Unilateral Declaration of Independence was to try and force the central government into reacting with force, which would then (in theory at least) spark off widespread actions across the country.

For this purpose a few individuals in the Western Transvaal and some of the right-wing town councils purchased some old armored cars which had been auctioned off by the rapidly shrinking South African Defense Force, with the intention of using them to fortify areas in the Western Transvaal on the selected date.

Of course the state intelligence services picked up news of these plans. In January 1994 the then head of the South African Defense Force, General Kat Liebenberg, met with the leadership of the AVF (Terre'Blanche excluded) and told them that the state was aware of their secessionist plans, and urged them to abandon the idea as the army would not allow the plan to go ahead.

The state did draw up countermeasures, which culminated in a formal state of emergency in the Western Transvaal being declared at the time of the April 1994 election. This was the first time that a state of emergency was declared in South Africa because of White political activity—in the past only Black unrest had caused the government to call for one.

However, by the second week of March 1994, the Afrikaner right had split on the issue of participation in the election as well. General Viljoen, widely regarded as the military savior of the right in its hour of crisis, used his prominent position within the Afrikaner Volksfront to start

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negotiations with the ANC and the then National Party government.

When ANC president Nelson Mandela publicly shot down the chances of any type of Afrikaner homeland being accommodated, the AVF called off all talks with the ANC and the government, but Viljoen was by then a leading member of the "Freedom Alliance"—a loose grouping which had grown out of an informal alliance at the multiparty negotiations called the "concerned South African group" (Cosag).

The Freedom Alliance consisted of Black homeland leaders (Bophuthatswana's Mangope, KwaZulu's Buthelezi and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo) and the Afrikaner right, all of whom were originally opposed to the elections taking place when they did.

The Freedom Alliance was still locked in talks with the ANC and the NP government, with the result that Viljoen was able to transfer his talks from the official ranks of the AVF to those of the Freedom Alliance, and carry on almost uninterrupted.

These actions soon made it clear to others inside the AVF that a faction under the leadership of Viljoen were actually in favor of participating in the April 1994 multiracial elections, rather than opting for an armed insurrection reaction to the handover to Black rule.

On January 29, 1994, the AVF held a mass meeting in the Pretoria show grounds, ostensibly to inaugurate the AVF's own transitional government authority (in response to the ANC/NP authority then just installed to run the country). This transitional authority was supposed to be a sort of Boer parliament, with the chairman of the AVF, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, being installed as "president of the Volkstaat" and appointing a "cabinet" to advise him.

However, the meeting was preceded by some back room maneuvering. On the Thursday (January 27,1994) before the mass meeting (which was held on a Saturday), Hartzenberg called Terre'Blanche to an urgent private meeting at the CP head office in Hatfield, Pretoria. There Hartzenberg told the AWB leader that Viljoen had presented a "strategic alternative" to the AVF's secessionist plans, and that this alternative consisted of the AVF registering as a political party and taking part in the multiracial elections.

Hartzenberg added that he had agreed to let Viljoen present this proposal to the mass meeting the next Saturday. Terre'Blanche expressed his opposition to the proposal, saying that no benefit would accrue from participating in the system at that stage.

The meeting went ahead as planned, and was attended by over ten thousand right-wingers. When it came Viljoen's turn to speak, he was met with rapturous applause—but this support melted away and was replaced with catcalls when he announced his "strategic alternative" of participating in the elections. Despite the meeting chairman, Frank le Roux (the CP chief whip and MP for Brakpan), trying to force a motion through supporting Viljoen's proposal, the crowd turned ugly and the meeting broke down in chaos and confusion. Several angry right-wingers tried to storm the stage and physically assault Viljoen for making the suggestion, and it was only due to the presence of his bodyguards that he was not assaulted. His wife, who was with him on the stage, broke down in tears as the crowd voiced their displeasure.

The stage then had to be cleared as it became too dangerous to stand there. The pandemonium continued as the crowd swung virtually to the man against the idea of participation in the election, and soon calls of "Terre'Blanche" and "Volkstaat now" were shouting down any attempt by Viljoen or his supporters to answer the criticism. The crowd only calmed after Terre'Blanche took the stage and told them to quiet down.

The AWB leader then made the proposal that the whole matter be referred back to the AVF's executive council for further discussion. Although this counterproposal was accepted

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with rapturous applause, it was never carried through by the AVF's executive body, as things moved very quickly after this confrontation.

An uneasy alliance which quickly fractured: an uncomfortable looking Constand Viljoen (far right) at an AWB rally with Terre'Blanche.

The installation of the AVF's "parliament" then continued, and Hartzenberg appointed Viljoen as his minister of Defense and Terre'Blanche as his minister of Law and Order.

Viljoen however did not take the rebuff as an indication that he should stop that line of thinking, and almost immediately restarted his (till then) secret talks with the ANC and the NP. When ANC leader Nelson Mandela then announced, with great fanfare, that the ANC would "never agree to an Afrikaner Volkstaat," the AVF executive then took a final decision to break off talks with the ANC and instructed Viljoen to do so as well.

Viljoen however simply became part of the Cosag/Freedom Alliance delegation which was then also engaged in talks with the ANC/NP transitional government, and through this forum continued his task for an alternative to the AVF's secessionist plans.

Sensing there was a possible split in the ranks of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the ANC/NP transitional government then began to apply pressure on the ranks of the Freedom Alliance to participate in the election, which was now only a matter of months away. The Ciskei was the first to cave in under the pressure, and its leader Oupa Gqozo resigned from Cosag and let his homeland join the transitional government process.

Further pressure was then applied to Bophuthatswana and Kwa Zulu. A state of emergency was called out in Kwa Zulu, and the region was flooded with armor and troops, ostensibly there to stabilize the situation, but in reality of course to send a clear message to the Inkatha Freedom Party that any attempts to disrupt the election or to go for independence as a Zulu kingdom (which was the line being used by the IFP at that stage) would not be tolerated.

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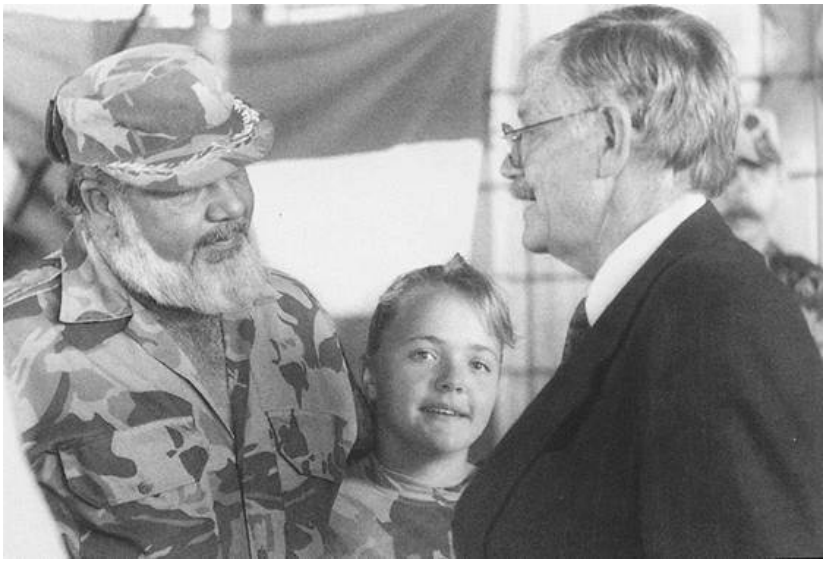

Terre'Blanche and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg consult early in 1994: Hartzenberg's last minute refusal to proceed with the municipal secession plan sounded the death knell for the right-wing plan to break away at the time of the 1994 elections. (Center in the picture, Terre'Blanche's daughter, Bea.)

At the same time, civil unrest broke out in Bophuthatswana, causing a major crisis in that homeland. This unrest prompted the abortive intervention in that state by an armed right-wing force (see chapter 23).

On March 4,1994, the day of final registration for parties wishing to take part in the April elections, Viljoen registered a new party, called the “Freedom Front” in order to lay the groundwork for participation in the election by the Afrikaner right.

The final act of betrayal: Constand Viljoen signs the agreement with the National Party/ANC transitional government, which “promised” Viljoen that a postelection majority rule government would take seriously requests for an Afrikaner homeland and create structures to facilitate such a state. These promises were of course lies, and Viljoen was too politically naive to see through them. This resulted in his final withdrawal from militant activity, and the final collapse of any real possibility of an armed White uprising. From left to right: Viljoen; Roelf Meyer, National Party cabinet minister; and Thabo Mbeki, chief negotiator for the ANC, soon to become deputy president of South Africa under Nelson Mandela.

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The day immediately following Viljoen's registration, a full sitting of the "Boer parliament" was held in Pretoria, where Viljoen's decision to register the Freedom Front" was overwhelmingly rejected. Viljoen came in for particularly severe criticism from one of the three AWB members of the parliament, Fred Rundle. Rundle, who acted as media spokesman for the AWB, asked Viljoen where he had obtained the money (R75, 000) needed to register the Freedom Front, as it had certainly not come from the AVF's purse.

Viljoen then gave the astounding answer that he did not know where the money had come from, even though he had said that he had had the money (in the form of a bank check) in his pocket "for the past two weeks." This was an obvious and transparent lie, obviously meant to cover up for the person who had put up the money, apparently a businessman from Kempton Park on the East Rand.

Viljoen agreed to abide by the parliament decision to let the Freedom Front's registration lapse (as it would automatically if the party did not submit a list of candidates) and the meeting then ended.

By this time however, negotiations between Viljoen, the NP, and the ANC had already come to a head. A last minute amendment to the interim constitution established a "Volkstaat Council" whose job it would be to look into the whole issue of Afrikaner self determination after the election had taken place. In return for this concession, Viljoen had to agree to take part in the election through the medium of his new political party, the Freedom Front. If the Freedom Front then won seats in the new parliament (the system of voting used was proportional representation) then he would earn the right to nominate members of the Volkstaat Council.

The Volkstaat Council was however specifically forbidden from making proposals centered on an independent, sovereign, Afrikaner homeland, causing groups such as the AWB to reject the notion from the beginning.

Five days after the AVF meeting of March 5, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope called on his partners in the Freedom Alliance and in the AVF to help him contain the ANC inspired unrest in his country. This request was thus the subject of an urgent meeting of the AVF Head Council on March 10—and Viljoen, who was still a member of the AVF, was present when a decision was made by the AVF to send in an armed expeditionary force to Bophuthatswana to prop up Mangope's government. As recounted in the following chapter of this book, the expedition ended with the right-wing forces withdrawing, and Viljoen and the AWB blaming each other for the unsuccessful operation.

Viljoen then almost immediately announced that he was not going to let the registration of the Freedom Front lapse, and that he would activate it to participate in the election. Although Viljoen later said that he decided to participate "after the Bophuthatswana expedition" (as quoted in the Sunday newspaper *Rapport* of November 27, 1994), it is obvious from the course of events that he had in fact decided to participate in the election a long time prior to that date. (This was later confirmed in the book by Alister Sparks called *Tomorrow is Another Country*, where he revealed that Viljoen had planned to take the right wing into the election from the very beginning.)

With the pull out of Constand Viljoen and the formation of the Freedom Front, the Conservative Party also then decided to pull out of the secessionist plans.

On the same Saturday that the first AWB car bomb exploded in Johannesburg, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg called personally at Terre'Blanche's home in Ventersdorp to tell the AWB leader that no CP controlled councils would support the UDI drive. By then it was of course too late to stop the AWB's plans from being put into effect.

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At the very last moment then, right-wing unity was broken and nothing came of the carefully laid secessionist plans—even though the state took no chances and the entire Western Transvaal was flooded with troops and armor during the election period.

It was obvious that Inkatha Freedom Party nonparticipation in the election would be crucial to the effectiveness of any AWB resistance program, as unrest in KwaZulu/Natal would cause the government to divide its forces between the two regions.

The government had, by March 1994, already instituted a state of emergency in KwaZulu in an obvious attempt to intimidate the IFP into agreeing to participate in the election. Of more importance to the AWB was the fact that the state of emergency in the Zulu region had caused the SADF and police to deploy a large number of troops and armored vehicles in that area—troops and armor which could not then also be deployed in the Western Transvaal.

However, in the first two weeks of March 1994, the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, appeared to start to waver. Terre'Blanche launched an attempt to prevent the IFP from participating in the election from the middle of March 1994, writing several letters to the king of the Zulus, Goodwill Zwelethini.

The last of these letters, dated April 14, appealed to the Zulu monarch to "stand firm" and promised that the government and the ANC's armed wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe, would be "too divided" to effectively crush both the "Boers and the Zulus." The letter ended with a promise that "all hell will soon break loose"—a boast that did not go unfulfilled.

Despite the last letter being carried to the Zulu king by a member of the Zulu royal household who had for many years been on good terms with the AWB leader, the AWB's attempts to keep the IFP out of the election were unsuccessful, and that party entered the election at the very last moment. In the election, the IFP barely won control of the province of KwaZulu Natal and emerged as the third biggest party in the new parliament.

AWB members provide training to Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party militants, early 1994. The AWB hoped that the IFP would also violently resist the 1994 elections on behalf of the Zulus, traditionally the tribal enemies of the Xhosa tribe, who overwhelmingly supported the ANC. It was a pipe dream, and nothing came of the efforts to form a united militant front. Picture taken during a secret AWB training camp, Heidelberg, 1994.

The AWB's reaction to the participation in the election by the IFP was unexpected: a statement was issued on Thursday, April 21, 1994, saying that the "so-called peace which has now been found between the IFP and the ANC will not be a lasting one. The election will be an opportunity for confrontation between the ANC and the whole Zulu nation." The AWB predicted

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that the “war between the ANC and the IFP would intensify as the Zulus will never accept the outcome of the election.”

“The AWB declares that it, under no circumstances, plans to be part of the coming election; that it still regards the election as illegal and that it therefore has no confidence in the future government. The general staff and the executive council have therefore decided to protect members of the organization and the Boerevolk against the chaos, uprising and revolution which will follow.”

With the decision on the part of the IFP to go into the election and the split in the Afrikaner right, Terre’Blanche realized that he now had to deal with a situation which had rapidly changed. He decided to try and speed up the intended confrontation with the state, and for this purpose formally announced that the AWB was going ahead with its plan to concentrate its forces in the Western Transvaal. The final paragraph of the press release commenting on the IFP’s decision to participate read as follows:

“The AWB has declared as a base, secure territory which stretches from the Northern Transvaal to the Cape border. Thousands of members of the AWB are already busy moving into the area in order to ensure that sufficient manpower is mustered in order to ward off any persecution or action against right-wingers by the future Communist government.”

The AWB had by this stage already started concentrating its forces in the Western Transvaal—as had the government, which now had its one hand freed by the decision on the part of the IFP to go into the election.

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CHAPTER TWENTY THREE: DEATH IN THE DUST

The dramatic events leading to the collapse of the Apartheid era-created Black homeland government of Bophuthatswana in March 1994, also saw the AWB deploy for the first—and last—time a large number of Wenkommando members in a conventional conflict situation. The Bophuthatswana conflict also saw the final parting of ways between the AWB and General Constand Viljoen and his supporters.

The Bophuthatswana government had consistently refused to take part in the April 1994 multiracial elections, and when this boycott was formally endorsed by the Bophuthatswana cabinet, ANC-supporting mobs took to the streets of Mmbabatho and Mafeking, the two main towns in the homeland, demanding that the nominally independent state be reincorporated into South Africa. The protest soon turned into a fullblown riot and then into a popular uprising against that homeland's president, Lucas Mangope.

On March 9 the unrest situation in Bophuthatswana had reached critical proportions, and on that day Mangope made a personal telephone call appeal for help to the AWB leader in Ventersdorp. Terre'Blanche and some of his general staff then rushed through to Pretoria where an AVF executive meeting was held, and at which it was decided to send in an armed force to try and stabilize the Mangope government. Viljoen was at that stage still part of the AVF's executive committee, and was a party to this decision.

The AWB generals were then allowed to use the AVF telephones to issue call up instructions to their immediate junior officers, and in this way a mobilization call was sent out. It was claimed later that the right-wing radio station, Radio Pretoria (set up to the east of Pretoria), had issued AWB call up instructions, but this was not true. All that station did was to announce in its news bulletins that the AWB had called up its members to help Bophuthatswana.

Viljoen and his followers in the meanwhile mobilized their own "armed wing"—the Boere Krisis Aksie (Farmer's Crisis Action—the same people who had been involved in the 1991 attack on the squatters at Goedgevonden) and ordered them into Bophuthatswana as well. After arriving in the homeland, the AWB forces were deployed in the White residential areas of Mmbabatho, where they were given a friendly reception by the White inhabitants, who had started to fear the rampant lawlessness and looting that was taking place in the center of that town.

The AWB forces were deployed under the command of one of the Wenkommando generals from Natal, Nick Fourie. It was however during this first night that things started to go wrong. Terre'Blanche, who had moved into Bophuthatswana along with his forces (which eventually totaled approximately 750 men, as opposed to the 350 men who made up the BKA faction), was asked by the commander of the Bophuthatswana army, General Jack Turner, to see him urgently at the latter's headquarters. This Terre'Blanche did, where he was told by Turner that the Bophuthatswana Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rowan Cronje, had asked that Terre'Blanche and the AWB immediately leave the country. Terre'Blanche spoke to Cronje, telling him that he had spoken personally with Mangope earlier that same day, and the homeland leader had asked for help.

Turner then also told Terre'Blanche that Viljoen and the then serving head of the South African army, General George Meiring, had visited the territory some four days previously, touring together in a helicopter. This news of course made Terre'Blanche highly suspicious of Viljoen's motives, particularly in light of the latter's registration to take part in the elections some six days earlier. As Terre'Blanche later asked Turner, why would Viljoen, who had already

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decided to take part in the election, go and help Mangope, who did not want to take part in the election?

Terre'Blanche was further asked to move his forces to the Bophuthatswana air force base just outside Mmbabatho—a move he made against the advice of AWB General Nick Fourie. The BKA forces had already started to arrive at the base when the AWB contingent moved in. It was however clear that large numbers of the homeland's army and police units had sided with the ANC backed uprising and were hostile to the right wing's presence in the territory.

The AWB and AVF men had been promised weapons from the armory at the Bophuthatswana air force base just to the west of Mmbabatho—but when they got there they were informed by General Jack Turner that the armory was virtually empty, having apparently been ransacked earlier by Bophuthatswana security forces who had switched sides.

At the air force base it was made very clear to Terre'Blanche, by both Rowan Cronje and representatives of the BKA, that he and the AWB in general were not welcome. Terre'Blanche then decided to leave, saying that he would go back to Ventersdorp. The AWB contingent could decide whether to stay or not by themselves—even after a further stipulation was added that they had to remove all AWB insignia (which they did, except for the senior officers).

Terre'Blanche however went to the home of a supporter in Mmbabatho, and remained in radio contact with his senior generals still at the air force base. After Terre'Blanche's departure, Viljoen's appointed commander, Colonel Jan Breytenbach, formerly of the infamous 32 Battalion in South West Africa, arrived to take control. He made no secret of his dislike for the AWB, and was involved in a particularly nasty altercation with AWB general, Nick Fourie, which just stopped short of the two men physically assaulting each other.

According to AWB sources after the incident, Breytenbach also told Fourie that the AWB forces would get none of the available gasoline or supplies under his control at the air force base. Faced with no logistical backup, no food, and no gasoline, the AWB contingent then decided to leave the homeland, as it was obvious that Mangope was no longer in control of the government.

The AWB men formed a new convoy and left the air force base, and accompanied by one Bophuthatswana army vehicle, sped through Mmbabatho on their way to the border. However, the Bophuthatswana army unit led the convoy on a route through the city in which no fewer than four ambushes had been set.

In each of the cases the attackers were members of the Bophuthatswana defense force who had gone over to the ANC backed uprising. Although they were well armed with automatic weapons (R4 and R5 rifles), 40 mm mortars, and armored vehicles, they did not manage to kill any AWB men in these fire fights. Later SABC radio reported that over fifty Bophuthatswana soldiers had been killed and over three hundred wounded by the AWB forces.

The fact that there were no AWB casualties during these ambushes was regarded by the AWB as nothing short of a miracle—the men were mostly riding on open pickup vans, armed only with handguns and light hunting rifles, while their attackers were heavily armed. Several AWB men were seriously injured when their vehicles were literally shot to pieces underneath them, but they all recovered from their wounds.

Somehow one vehicle was separated from the convoy—it was said that they turned off in search of gasoline, but the truth will never be known as all the participants are dead—and it was this lone vehicle which was to become the focus of world attention at that time.

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AWB Colonel Alwyn Wolfaardt raises his hand as Veldkornet (field cornet) Fanie Uys slumps out of the rear door, over the body of the already critically wounded AWB General Nick Fourie. All three had been caught in an ambush set up by ANC supporters in Bophuthatswana.

Ontlametse Menyatsoe, a Bophuthatswana policeman, opens fire and murders the critically wounded and unarmed AWB men as they lay prostrate on the ground. Menyatsoe was later given amnesty for these murders by a politically biased "Truth and Reconciliation Commission."

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The vehicle in question was a blue Mercedes driven by AWB colonel Alwyn Wolfaardt, and had as its passengers AWB general Nick Fourie and veldkornet (field cornet) Fanie Uys.

As the vehicle was travelling all alone down the road directly in front of the main Mmbabatho police station, it was riddled with gunfire from Bophuthatswana troops in and around two armored personnel carriers standing outside the police station. The withering gunfire managed to bring the Mercedes to a halt.

Inside, Fourie had been hit in the neck, and was already unconscious. Next to him Wolfaardt had been hit in the arm and in the backseat Uys had been hit in the leg.

In full view of foreign and local television cameras, the two conscious men managed to open the car doors, push the dying Nic Fourie out onto the road, and then they crawled out next to the car. The Bophuthatswana police then placed them under arrest and took away their weapons, but didn't try to remove them or give them medical aid.

In a bizarre interlude the men lay there for about twenty minutes, while the press conducted interviews with the two conscious men. Not one of the pressmen present lifted a finger to try and help them, even though Wolfaardt and Uys requested them to do so many times. (This was in sharp contrast to another scene, also in Mmbabatho, where journalists had given first aid to wounded Black civilians.)

Then, still in full view of the cameras, a Bophuthatswana policeman, armed with an R4 automatic rifle, ran up to where the wounded men were lying and gunned them down in cold blood. It was this cold-blooded execution, far away from where the actual fire fights had taken place, which was misrepresented by the local and international media as the AWB forces being "defeated" in Bophuthatswana. This myth has persisted, even though it is palpably untrue.

The BKA unit then withdrew later that day, also running into several ambushes along the way. A little known fact is that two other AWB men who were with that unit, including another field cornet, Francois Janse van Rensburg, were killed during the AVF withdrawal. Several others were wounded during further ambushes on the BKA convoy.

Journalists and ANC aligned spokesmen later alleged that after the murder of the three men, AWB men had gone on a shooting spree in Bophuthatswana, shooting looters and Black passersby alike. Although it was never proven who had shot the civilians, at least sixty died,

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either in cross fire or as combatants in one way or another—in addition to the fifty soldiers allegedly killed by the AWB contingent in earlier fire fights.

There is however no evidence to indicate that the AWB force did go about randomly shooting Black civilians—and indeed several instances have been recorded where AWB men actually saved Black civilians who were serving Bophuthatswana government officials, from being killed by mobs of ANC supporters.

One of the most notable of such actions was undertaken by AWB General Roelf Jordaan from Ladybrand. While he and his hastily mobilized force were outside Mmbabatho on their way to the air force base, they were flagged down by a Black civilian, who turned out to be the Bophuthatswana minister of agriculture. He informed Jordaan and his men that an ANC mob had attacked his house, setting it on fire. He and his wife had managed to flee, but his fifteen-year-old son had been lost in the chaos. He had however later been able to track his son down by telephone.

His son had informed him that he was sheltering in a house several kilometers away and that an ANC mob was busy searching all the houses, and would soon reach the one in which he was hiding. Jordaan and AWB brigadier Leon van Deventer from the AWB's Kalahari Wenkommando then put together a small force of AWB men in five pickups and raced to the house where the youth was hiding. By a combination of stealth and bravado, they managed to take the youth away from under the noses of the rioting ANC mob. They returned the youth to his relieved parents and then proceeded on to the air force base—an example of where some AWB men actually put their lives at risk for Black civilians. Incidents such as these do not support the media generated image of rampaging AWB men shooting at all and sundry.

On a military level, the operation was not a success, but the fault for this was the failure on the part of the Bophuthatswana defense force to provide the necessary logistical support and armored personnel carriers as had been promised, and for the fact that a large number of army units switched support to the ANC backed uprising before the right-wingers arrived in the country.

However, the portrayal of the operation as the "AWB being routed" was also not true—the facts were that the AWB went in and then left again after encountering a hostile reception from the BKA section in Mmbabatho. The AWB forces did not leave after being "defeated" by the Bophuthatswana army, as the media alleged, and in fact in the few incidents where fire fights took place, the casualty figures show that the AWB force acquitted themselves well in the face of far superior firepower.

The interesting contradiction raised by Terre'Blanche—why would Viljoen, who was going to take part in the election, want to help Mangope, who did not want to take part in the election, can only be explained by the intention of the Bophuthatswana government to hold a full sitting of its parliament the week following its downfall. This session of the Bophuthatswana parliament would in all likelihood have reversed the decision to stay out of the elections, and Mangope and his supporters would have then been able to enter the election in their own right.

Viljoen was in all likelihood aware of this, and his motivation in going in to try and stabilize Mangope was to enable him to take part in the election. The AWB of course went in to Bophuthatswana with the intention of stabilizing Mangope—but with the intention to keep him out of the election. The AWB's presence in the homeland must have then come as an unwelcome surprise for the Viljoen faction.

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CHAPTER TWENTY FOUR: THE AWB ALONE

There are many who say the AWB "did nothing" to try and physically prevent the takeover of South Africa by the ANC. This criticism is based on ignorance of the facts—the truth is that out of all of the numerous right-wing organizations which threatened violence and uprising should the ANC take over, the only organized active physical resistance came from the AWB—and this was acknowledged by the government of the time with the calling for a state of emergency in the Western Transvaal in April 1994.

After a series of smaller bomb blasts in Western Transvaal towns such as Bloemhof and Sannieshof, the first indication of real trouble came with the destruction of the SABC broadcast tower serving the Western Transvaal during the week running up to April elections.

On Friday night, April 22, 1994, a bomb destroyed the department of home affairs offices in Potgietersrus in the Northern Transvaal, and an important gasoline pipeline running from the Sasol complex in the northern Orange Free State was severely damaged—causing a spectacular fire—by a bomb the same night.

It was however a bombing campaign which occurred in the days immediately leading up to the election which caused international headlines and for a while caused many observers to seriously question whether the elections would be held. During this bombing campaign, the largest bombs ever to be detonated in South Africa's history were to go off—bombs four times as big as the biggest bomb that the ANC had ever been able to detonate during its twenty-nine year guerrilla campaign.

In the resulting court case in which a total of twenty-seven members of the AWB's Iron Guard were put on trial—including many of that organization's top leaders, the state put together in its charge sheet one of the most interesting cases the south Africa courts had ever seen.

The charge sheet, which was finally formulated in December 1994, contained many startling allegations. Although the state was not able to prove all of them, the story told in the charge sheet made fascinating reading.

To begin with, the state alleged that three of the accused, Clint Ellish, Josias Cruywagen, and Jan Kruger burgled a club house of the "Para-Shop" parachute club at the PC Pelser Airport at Krugersdorp on April 21, 1994, and stole nine parachutes and assorted skydiving equipment. These items were found on April 27, 1994, by the police who raided an AWB at the Waterval shooting range in the district of Rustenburg (as described below).

The state further alleged that on April 21, 1994, accused Nicolaas Barnard, Abraham Myburgh, and Jan Kruger carried out a reconnaissance on a game farm named Springfontein in the Koster region "in order to establish if it was suitable as a base for the preparation and execution of the conspiracy" to "disrupt the elections."

The state alleged that this "conspiracy to disrupt the elections" was hatched by a meeting of the accused on April 23, 1994, at the game farm. What follows in quotation marks is taken directly from the charge sheet:

"On or about April 23, 1994, and on the game farm, under the leadership of Jan Kruger, assisted by one Johan Du Plessis, they started planning on how to steal motor vehicles for use in attacks on (Black) taxis and taxi ranks, terror attacks and motor car bombs."

The state alleged that on April 23, 1994, accused Etienne le Roux, Nicolaas Barnard, and Abraham Myburgh, along with a co-conspirator named Jacob Koekemoer went to a farm named Koesterfontein in the Magaliesburg region in the Koester district. Here Barnard allegedly told Koekemoer, who as a miner was familiar with the workings of explosives, to build a bomb for

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use in an act of terror in the center of Johannesburg.

"Koekemoer then with the help of Le Roux, Barnard, and Myburgh, proceeded to build the bomb in an Audi motor car with registration number HRZ 071T. This vehicle was lent to Barnard by the owner thereof, with the purpose of using it in such terror attack. Le Roux, Barnard, and Myburgh proceeded with the aforementioned Audi, in which the bomb was concealed, as well as a second motor vehicle to the center of Johannesburg where they detonated the bomb at 9:50 a.m. in Bree Street."

The Bree Street Bomb: April 1994. This massive bomb, close to the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, was one of the single largest bombs ever to have been detonated in South Africa's history, and kicked off the AWB's violent attempt to disrupt the elections that year.

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The charge sheet continued: “On the same day Koekemoer proceeded to manufacture 20 pipe bombs at Koesterfontein. These bombs were taken on April 24 to the game farm by Le

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Roux, Barnard and Myburgh.

"During the evening of April 24, 1994, accused Nico Prinsloo (AWB secretary general), Leon van der Merwe (Ystergarde chief), Johannes Smit, Abraham Fourie, and Du Plessis gathered behind closed doors on the game farm. After this meeting Du Plessis and Fourie gathered all the persons on the game farm together (sentries included).

"Thereafter Myburgh explained the workings of the pipe bombs to the gathered persons. Du Plessis then asked for volunteers, who had motor vehicles available, to carry out attacks with aforementioned pipe bombs. He also asked for crew to accompany these drivers during the execution of these attacks. The target areas for the attacks and the groups were identified as follows: (a) Westonaria: Jan Kruger, Martin Wiebosch and Tiaan Potgieter—hereafter called Potgieter—in Wiebosch's vehicle; (b) Randfontein: Clint Ellish, Josias Cruywagen, Johannes Venter in Ellish's vehicle; (c) Pretoria: Jacobus Nel, Petrus Steyn, and Gerhardus Fourie in Nel's vehicle; (d) Krugersdorp: Jan Pieter Hanekom with persons unknown in aforementioned Hanekom's vehicle. This group however lost its nerve and hid the bomb at a place unknown to the state and returned to the game farm without having accomplished their mission.

"On April 25, 1994, Kruger, together with Wiebosch and Potgieter detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the Westonaria—Carletonville road near to Westonaria. No persons were hurt during the explosion but damage was inflicted to vehicles. On their return to the game farm these persons gave a report back to Prinsloo (AWB secretary general Nico) and Leon van der Merwe (Ystergarde chief), after these two asked about the course of the operation.

"On April 25, 1994, Ellish, Le Roux, and Venter detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets, Randfontein. No persons were hurt during this explosion and vehicles were damaged.

"On April 25, 1994, accused Nel, Petrus Steyn, and Gerhardus Fourie detonated a pipe bomb in a restaurant at 8:30 p.m. on the corner of Bloed Street and 7th Avenue in Marabastad, Pretoria. On April 24, 1994, Koekemoer, with the help of Le Roux, Barnard, Myburgh, and Jan de Wet, as well as Abraham Vlok built a further bomb at the game farm in a Karet trailer with serial number LM6-R-343 STD and a registration number NSY 742 T.

"Aforementioned trailer was, with the bomb mounted therein, taken to Germiston on April 25, 1994. De Wet drove the vehicle which pulled the trailer, while Vlok was the crew. Le Roux and Du Plessis accompanied the other two to Germiston, in Le Roux's vehicle. The bomb was detonated at 8:45 a.m. in Odendaal Street, Germiston. The explosives used in the building of the aforementioned trailer were supplied by accused Cornelius Botha Jr. and Cornelius Botha Sr."

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The Germiston taxi stand bombing, April 24, 1994.

The charge sheet continued: “A further group of conspirators which included accused Johannes Olivier, Serge D’Abbadie, and Dirk Meyer, who were under the command of accused Milestone Sharp, arrived at the game farm on the morning of April 25, 1994, from Natal. After their arrival on the game farm Nico Prinsloo (AWB secretary general), who introduced himself as ‘General Prinsloo’ informed them about the situation. The core of his talk contained the following: (his precise words are unknown to the state):

“That it was now war and that those who want to leave the game farm will be shot; that a few bombs had already gone off. He explained that another group, the Boere Krisis Aksie (Boer Crisis Action) had also left off a few bombs, and that the Telkom exchange and electronic instrumentation which had been blown up was the work of the BKA. He said that the BKA had been informed that the telecommunications were of such a nature that they could not afford for them to be destroyed, but that they however would have no problem if the BKA destroyed power lines.

“That the persons at the farm could expect to be there for at least two or three months; strict entrance control would be implemented and no one could enter or leave the area without permission; there could be a visit from the police and it must look like those present were busy with a training camp; and illegal weapons must be hidden in the hills around the camp, but in such a manner that they could easily be picked up. It was fairly safe on the game farm as guards had been deployed on top of the hill and by the gate; but they were going to see strange things and certain persons would be busy building things but that this would be no reason for concern; the men should now forget for a while about their women, but that opportunity would be given to phone them and to visit them on certain weekends; and when the men did go and telephone their wives, they would be escorted by two members of the Ystergarde.

“Smit also addressed the persons and amongst other things said to them: that his 9mm pistol was illegal. He took his weapon out and showed it to the men; if someone tried to run away, he personally would shoot them dead; a roster would be worked out for guard duties; illegal weapons should be hidden; and each person should write his name on a piece of paper and indicate what his area of specialty was.

“Accused Abraham Fourie, who acted as camp commander, then also addressed the men.

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He laid out the rules with regard to camp hygiene and said that no one could leave the camp without his permission.

"On April 26, 1994, the game farm was evacuated and those present, including the accused and persons unknown to the state, moved in several small convoys, using secondary roads, to a shooting range at Waterval in the district of Rustenburg (hereafter called the shooting range). After their arrival at the shooting range accused Nico Prinsloo (AWB secretary general) gave orders to Ellish and Kruger to hide a number of pipe bombs, explosives, and explosive equipment in the bush, which they then did. Milestone Sharp then gave accused Serge D'Abbadie , Pieter Swanepoel, and Anton Oelofse orders to hide the following items in the bush: an R1 rifle, a box with R1 ammunition, and two bottles containing explosives.

"Fourie then gave the men orders to conceal illegal weapons in the surrounding bush. If the police should arrive at the scene the hidden weapons should be quickly obtained and the police should be led into an ambush if they approached the bushes, he said. He further told the men that the police were going to be informed of their presence there, but that the purpose of their presence was going to be made out to be for training and patrols.

"During the night of April 26, 1994, Barnard, Kruger, and Du Plessis gave orders to the men to go and fetch the pipe bombs which Ellish and Kruger had earlier hidden in the bush. Kruger and Du Plessis then fetched five pipe bombs and handed them to Myburgh. Thereafter Nico Prinsloo gave orders to Kruger and Du Plessis to go and fetch the rest of the hidden explosives, which was then done.

"Myburgh then gave two pipe bombs to Sharp, Johannes Olivier, Serge D'Abbadie, Willem Hattingh, Andreas Coetzee, and Hercules Coetzee, as well as the other conspirators who had come from Natal.

Myburgh explained to the aforementioned conspirators how to detonate the pipe bombs. The two bombs were destined to be detonated in the Benoni area. Olivier, D'Abbadie, Hattingh, Andreas Coetzee, and Doppies Treurnicht left for Benoni at approximately 6:00 p.m. Two vehicles were used for the expedition. One vehicle was used as a lead car while the pipe bombs were transported in the second car.

"Around 9:40 p.m. during the evening of April 26, 1994, Olivier, who was driving the vehicle with Treurnicht as passenger, drove through a police roadblock in Main Reef Road West, Benoni. The vehicle was pursued by members of the Benoni traffic department. Shots were then fired from the vehicle at the traffic policemen. After Olivier brought the vehicle to a standstill, he and Treurnicht jumped out and ran. Olivier was arrested nearby but Treurnicht escaped. In the vehicle one pipe bomb was found. Shortly thereafter another pipe bomb was found alongside the road where it had been thrown out of the aforementioned vehicle before it was driven through the police roadblock.

"D'Abbadie, Hattingh, and Andreas Coetzee returned during the course of the night of April 26–27 to the shooting range. Earlier during the night of April 26, 1994, some of the conspirators at the shooting range moved by car to the farm of De Wet where they met their wives.

"During the evening of April 25 Hattingh and Andreas Coetzee stole a Peugeot vehicle with registration number FXS768T from Homelake Street, Randfontein. During the evening of April 26, 1994, Koekemoer, with the help of Le Roux, Barnard, Cornelius Botha Jr., Cornelius Botha Sr., and Gert Alberts, made a bomb in the aforementioned Peugeot. Barnard explained to Le Roux and Du Plessis how to detonate the bomb.

"On April 27, 1994, at approximately 2:45 a.m. Barnard gave orders to Le Roux, Kruger,

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and Du Plessis to go to Jan Smuts International Airport (Johannesburg) with the aforementioned Peugeot and detonate it. Kruger and Du Plessis drove in the Peugeot while Le Roux accompanied them in another vehicle. At approximately 7:00 a.m. the same morning the bomb was detonated in the under cover parking area at Jan Smuts airport. No persons were killed during the explosion but nine persons were seriously injured.

"Early in the morning of April 27, 1994, at the shooting range, Sharp gave the order to the conspirators to pack up and move off the range. At about 5:15 a.m. the members of the South African police raided the shooting range while the conspirators were busy withdrawing. Barnard, Myburgh, Sharp, Johannes Smit, Ellish, D'Abbadie, Hattingh, Andreas Coetzee, Cornelius Botha Jr., Cornelius Botha Sr., Dirk Meyer, Hercules Coetzee, and Gert Alberts were the persons arrested in the immediate vicinity of the shooting range.

"During the arrests the following items were seized in the immediate vicinity of the shooting range: (a) sixteen machine guns as in charge 80; (b) nine unlicensed firearms as in charge 82; (c) 30 x 465 rounds of ammunition of various calibers; (d) forty licensed firearms; (e) four crossbows with arrows; (f) thirty-two two-way radios; (g) four bulletproof vests; (h) nine parachutes; (i) one angle grinder; (j) one welding machine; (k) eight battery chargers; (l) explosives, explosive devices and parts thereof: 1 x 150 gram Dinogel explosive; 49 x 250 gram Emex explosive; 7 x 150 gram Emex explosive; 62 x 250 gram Tovex explosive; 2 x 150 gram Emex packaging; 1 x 250 gram Cordtex fuse; 1 x 500ml soft drink bottle containing Emex explosive; 2 x M65 hand grenades; 1 x limpet mine; 100 x ordinary attaching fuse; 5 x ordinary electric detonators; 13 x electronically delayed detonators; 20 x wax cartridges with megnadet detonating systems; 50 x Sure Start electric igniters for fuses; 1 x roll Stope Cord 9 fuse; 5 x rolls slow burning fuse; 1 x roll Stope line fuse; (m) medical equipment including bandages and intravenous feeding apparatus; (n) 173 backpacks with additional clothing which included camouflage of different organizations; (o) a large quantity of nonperishable foodstuffs."

It is worth noting the second to the last item listed above: 173 backpacks were found but in total only about forty men were ever arrested. It would be fair then to presume that the forty men so arrested did not each carry two or three backpacks, so it then appears as if there were still more than 130 people who were present at the shooting range, apprehended, and unidentified.

Other incidents of note during the same period included the following:

* The bomb blast in Bree Street, Johannesburg, killed an ANC candidate in the elections, a White woman by the name of Susan Keane.

* At the Pretoria restaurant bombing, a police guard at the scene of the blast shot and killed a White man who was part of a group of Whites who were scratching through the rubble at 3:00 a.m. the following morning, apparently in search of clues which might lead to the identity of the bombers. The men were all wearing balaclavas.

* Before the police roadblock system achieved its breakthrough in Benoni, the police had offered an R2 million reward to any person providing information which would lead to the arrest and conviction of the bombers—the largest reward ever offered in South African history.

* Several other bombs exploded at various places around the country as well, with the biggest of these going off in Kimberly in the Northern Cape.

The new South African constitution ironically guaranteed the right to bail, so the AWB men (who were all members of the Ystergarde) initially arrested at the Rustenburg shooting range were granted bail of R10, 000 each. Not all the accused were arrested at the shooting range.

Several were arrested later as the police started to put together a picture of what they

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believed had happened.

One of those who was the last to be arrested was Etienne le Roux, who was only granted bail during the court case itself. Doppies Treurnicht, the man in the car which was stopped at the roadblock in Benoni, was eventually arrested eleven months later in March 1995 at his hometown of Port Nolloth in the Northern Cape. He however turned state witness, and was not charged.

Evidence presented before the court contained some dramatic revelations which were not in the charge sheet. The state's case rested heavily on AWB turncoats and the kingpin in this evidence was Jacob Koekemoer, one of those originally arrested at the shooting range. Without his evidence the state would have battled to put together a case at all, even though there were a number of other corroborating witnesses.

Koekemoer, who had been kept in protective custody, testified before the Rand supreme court that he had helped to build the bombs which were used in the bombing campaign of April 1994. He said he had been approached by AWB commandant (and accused) Abraham Fourie, while on a game farm on the weekend prior to the April elections.

Fourie had asked him if he had knowledge of explosives, to which he replied that he was a qualified blaster at the mines. He was asked to accompany accused Etienne le Roux, Clifton Barnard, and Abraham Myburgh, who drove to the Koesterfontein farm in the Krugersdorp area, on Saturday, April 23, 1994.

At the farm they unloaded six 50 kg bags of Anfax explosives from the trunk of the car. Barnard said they wanted to build a car bomb, or a bomb to be placed next to a building to cause large scale damage. He said they hoped this would "prevent the Blacks from voting."

Koekemoer told the men that a car bomb would be more suitable, as it would not be noticeable. They built the bomb by placing 100 kg of Anfax mixed with diesel in the barrel of a grass roller.

Koekemoer then placed twenty sticks of Watergel plastic explosive in the center of the barrel, before another 100 kg mix of Anfax and diesel was used to fill it. All four of them loaded the grass roller into the trunk of a blue gray Audi.

Koekemoer said he made a fuse which would take about six minutes to burn, extending from the trunk to between the front seats. He told the men that once the fuse was set, the burning would be visible from outside the car. Further explosives and pieces of iron were packed close to the car's gas tank. Koekemoer said that Barnard, who was in charge, wanted to set the car bomb off at a taxi stand in central Johannesburg. Barnard and Myburgh were to drive the Audi, while Le Roux drove ahead to warn of police roadblocks.

Koekemoer told the court that after he had built the first car bomb, the three men who had delivered the bomb to its target, Clifton Barnard, Abraham Fourie, and Etienne le Roux, had returned to the game farm. There they had told Koekemoer that they had heard the explosion and "had felt an enormous tremor" when they stopped at a red traffic light some distance away.

Barnard had then instructed him to build a second bomb, Koekemoer said.

Barnard also mentioned that he would tell the owner of the Audi car used in the first blast to report it as stolen. Koekemoer said Barnard had told him that the explosives, fuses, and detonators for the second bomb had been provided by accused Cornelius Botha senior, who had obtained them from the Mooinooi mine.

Koekemoer built the second bomb in a white trailer, which he was told belonged to AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. It consisted of a 19 kg gas cylinder, forty sticks of Watergel plastic explosive sticks, and a mixture of Anfax explosive and diesel fuel which was poured over the

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top. Accused Jan de Wet and Abraham Vlok then drove a red Nissan Skyline to Germiston with the trailer attached. Accused Johan du Plessis and Etienne le Roux accompanied them in another car, he said.

Koekemoer said he was “shocked” when he heard later that people had been killed in the blast. However, he said Barnard and Le Roux sounded cheerful about it, “and I fell in with them.” That afternoon they went to the game farm in the Koster district. Koekemoer said AWB members had watched the 8:00 p.m. newscast on television, and had cheered when they saw the newscast which carried news of the bombings.

During his evidence, Koekemoer alleged that he had been a police informer from the beginning. He told the court that he had joined the AWB on the instructions of his employers, the police security branch.

Despite this he had built several bombs for the AWB, he said, denying defense accusations that he had acted on orders from a “third force” within the police. Koekemoer admitted that without his expertise gained as a blaster on the mines, the bombs “would probably not have been built.”

Defense advocate Louisa van der Walt put it to him that he had built the bombs on orders from the police, and this was why he had made no attempt to contact the police while at the farm. She said the bombs had been built on orders from the police to commit acts of terror as part of a “Third Force.” In so doing they had “attempted to discredit the AWB, to create chaos, and to sow the seeds of a fear psychosis so that the elections would fail.”

Koekemoer strongly denied all the allegations. He said that his last instruction from his handler was that if his life was in danger, he should act to protect himself. He felt that if he had not complied with the request to build the bombs, his life would have been in danger. He had been told that if anyone “turned” that would be the end of that person. On joining the Ystergarde he had taken the oath expected of every member, “if I should turn, shoot me” he said. Van der Walt put it to him that “this oath meant nothing to him as he had already spied on his own people.”

Koekemoer said he had “tried to build faults in the bomb,” but was told that if it did not work, he “would be in trouble.” He said he had made the bombs out of fear for his own life. He admitted he had made the pipe bombs safer for the people who were handling them, by replacing rapid burning cortex fuse with a detonator fuse. The cortex fuse burns at 8, 000 m per second. This admission brought an admonishment from the judge, Justice Flemming, who remarked to Koekemoer that “you made it safer for the man throwing it, but thought nothing of the twenty or forty people who would be on the receiving end.”

Koekemoer said he planned to contact his handlers, but was afraid to use the party telephone line at the farm in case other people were listening in. He had not attempted to escape from the farm because he thought he might be caught by AWB patrols. “I knew it was wrong and a mistake on my part, but in the situation I feared for my life,” he said.

This line of argument fell to pieces when Koekemoer admitted that he had made the “corrections” to the pipe bombs while all alone on a farm near Krugersdorp the weekend before the elections. At the farm he had access to two-way radios, and still hadn’t used them to contact the police, never mind the fact that he’d been left alone with the bombs for a whole day.

Koekemoer also alleged that a bomb large enough to “lower airplanes from the sky” was initially intended to be used by the AWB to bomb either the union buildings in Pretoria or the Jan Smuts airport. He said a smaller bomb destined for Jan Smuts airport was eventually built in the Peugeot car because accused Clifton Barnard had been unable to obtain a gasoline tanker in

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which the larger bomb would have been built.

The car used in the Bree Street, Johannesburg, bombing of April 24, 1994, was in the possession of one of the AWB members standing trial, the court was told by one of the state witnesses, Barend Breytenbach, of Ventersdorp. Breytenbach told the court that the car, a green Audi, had belonged to his father, Marthinus Breytenbach. His father had died in January 1995. He said his father had lent the car to one of the accused, Clifton Barnard, on Friday, April 22, 1994.

On Saturday, April 23, he and his father drove through Ventersdorp in a minibus they had been lent in exchange for the Audi, and they saw Barnard standing next to the Audi outside the AWB headquarters. Barnard had told them they could only get the vehicle back later and they had gone home, he testified. On Sunday, April 24, they drove to Barnard's farm fifteen km outside Ventersdorp, but Barnard was not there.

After they had spent the day having a barbecue and riding horses, Barnard had eventually returned late that afternoon in a brown Toyota Corolla car.

Breytenbach's younger brother, Rudolf, then testified that on Barnard's return, when his father had asked Barnard what had become of the Audi, Barnard had motioned him aside. Rudolf overheard Barnard tell his father that the car was a "wreck" and described his father as being very upset. When they returned home, they found a note under their front door, apparently from Barnard, requesting his father to meet Barnard at "headquarters."

Later his father and Barnard's mother told him and his brother not "to say anything about what they had seen or heard." Breytenbach said the car was never returned to them. The court had heard earlier that it had been reported stolen to the police at 6:00 p.m. on Sunday, April 24.

Another witness, Abraham Kujani, told the court that he had seen two White men driving an Audi and then parking it in Bree Street on the Sunday morning shortly before the bomb went off. Kujani described the driver of the Audi as being tall, with blond hair and a beard. He was carrying a firearm. Kujani said he became suspicious of the car on seeing smoke coming from the inside. He noticed two policemen at a cafe across the road and then attempted to follow the men, but lost sight of them.

One of the accused was apprehended in a roadblock on April 26, 1994, in a car containing two pipe bombs, according to policemen doing duty at a roadblock on that day. The court heard that accused Johannes Olivier, forty, of the farm Leafontein in the Boons district, had driven through a roadblock on Main Reef Road, near Benoni, on the evening of April 26.

State witness F.G. Wolmarans, who was doing a national service camp with the Benoni commando, said he had been stationed with three others about eight hundred meters from the main roadblock. They had been told to be on the lookout for a white Ford Cortina. At 9:40 p.m. they noticed a car which fit the description come around the corner. It stopped about twenty meters away from them and an object was thrown out the passenger door. As they approached the car, they saw two White men sitting in front. It then began moving towards the main roadblock.

They radioed to the men stationed at the roadblock and were told that the car had sped through at high speed and traffic officers were in pursuit.

A Benoni traffic officer, Hendrik Janse van Rensburg, then testified how he and a colleague had pursued the Cortina to First Avenue, Northmead, where the occupants got out of the car and attempted to escape. During the chase, they heard several shots fired from the Cortina. He and his fellow officer pursued Olivier on foot, and apprehended him.

Major Lionel Palmer, of the Benoni Crime Intelligence Service, found a pipe bomb in the

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trunk of the car after questioning Olivier, who said he was the owner of the car. The object thrown out of the car was also a pipe bomb.

Olivier told him that he and his companion had identified a target in Boksburg frequented by Blacks where they would use the smaller of the pipe bombs, and were on their way to Benoni to identify a second target where the larger of the two bombs would be used.

Doppies Treurnicht, the man who had got out of the vehicle and run away, was arrested after nearly a year in the west coast town of Port Nolloth in March 1995. Treurnicht, who was widely expected to join the accused, made a surprise appearance as a state witness instead, although it turned out that his evidence was not of such great value to the state as the prosecutors had originally hoped.

Treurnicht testified that he was in a car with accused Johannes Olivier, which was stopped in a roadblock on the way to the East Rand town of Benoni on the evening of April 26, 1994. He said the car contained two pipe bombs, one in the car and the other in the trunk.

Another car with other AWB men had been following them, he said. Treurnicht said that when he saw the roadblock he instructed Olivier to pull over to the side of the road. He had then thrown the pipe bomb out the window. They had then sped through the roadblock. He had fired several shots into the road with his own firearm, but denied that he had fired shots at the police.

Treurnicht said he was only able to identify Olivier, and one other accused, Milestone Sharp, as having been on the game farm at Rustenburg where the police had raided the AWB camp. He said Sharp had asked him and Olivier when they came off guard duty at the camp's shooting range if either of them "knew Benoni." Treurnicht said he was unable to identify the other people who had followed the vehicle in which he had travelled and that he could not identify the person who had demonstrated how the pipe bombs worked.

Treurnicht also denied ever having seen another state witness, Jacob Koekemoer, who the state alleged actually made the bombs.

AWB turncoat Barend Honiball testified in court that he had been part of a group of AWB men gathered on a game farm in the Western Transvaal where he had seen pipe bombs being handled. He said two of the men, accused Jan Kruger and Johan du Plessis, had given the men "instructions on how to steal cars."

Further he had been present when a red Nissan Skyline had arrived at the farm, driven by Ystergarde leader Leon van der Merwe. Honiball and other members were told to off-load several pipe bombs from the trunk of the car. He said he had first heard about the Bree Street bomb when he saw a newspaper report. Another one of the accused, Clint Ellish, had then told him that "this is only the start; there are still lots to come."

Honiball said Du Plessis and accused Gert Fourie had asked for volunteers amongst the men who had cars, to target various places where the pipe bombs could be thrown. He said he went to see the police a half hour after being dropped off by other AWB members in Pretoria a few days later.

One of the police officers investigating the bombings told the court that a metal plate with a serial number from a trailer had been found on the farm where the bombs were allegedly manufactured. The court had heard earlier that the bomb which exploded at a Germiston taxi stand on April 25 had been detonated in a trailer. Warrant Officer G. Pitout said he went to search the farm Koesterfontein in Magaliesburg, where the bomb had allegedly been made. The farm was owned by the father of one of the accused, Abraham Myburgh.

Pitout said he had found the metal plate in an uninhabited building. The serial number belonged to a trailer registered in the name of AWB leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

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State witness Lizanne Kuhrau testified before the court that one of the accused, Jaco Nel, had come to stay with her at the Oewers holiday resort near Brits on April 26, 1994, “worried that the police were looking for him.” Kuhrau, who was estranged from her husband at the time, said two other accused, Petrus Steyn of Sundra, and Gert Fourie of Springs, had accompanied Nel when he came to see her at her friend’s flat in Sunnyside, Pretoria, on the morning of April 25. They had left the flat in her friend’s car, a blue Citi Golf, and returned later that day.

On the afternoon of April 26, Nel arrived at the resort with three other men. Kuhrau identified one as Johannes Smit of Vereeniging. Nel told her he had heard a report on the radio saying the police were looking for a blue car in connection with a bomb explosion in Marabastad, Pretoria, on the night of April 25. He was worried that the police were looking for him and asked if he could spend the night. She agreed and the other three men then left. Kuhrau, who has since reconciled with her husband, said she made a statement to the police on July 21, 1994. She denied that she had made the report because her relationship with Nel had failed. She said Nel had asked her to make a false statement saying she had been with him from 10:00 a.m. on April 25 until the following day. Defense attorney Harry Prinsloo said Nel would deny this.

AWB turncoat Dawid Potgieter testified in court that he and two others had bombed a taxi stand in Westonaria on April 25, 1994. He said he had been among those gathered at a game farm in the Koster district for several days before the elections. Johan du Plessis had asked for volunteers: he needed four men with cars and another eight men as passengers to set off pipe bombs in various areas.

Potgieter said he was chosen to accompany Martin Wiebosch and Jan Kruger to set off a bomb in Westonaria. Wiebosch was not one of the accused and also gave evidence for the state. Potgieter said they had left the farm early on April 25. They surveyed several possible targets, including a taxi stand at Westonaria, the train station, and the mine, before deciding to bomb a taxi stand on the way to Carletonville.

At about 8:00 a.m. they threw the ignited pipe bomb in the direction of the taxi stand, where it landed under one of the vehicles. Potgieter said he saw someone pick up the pipe bomb, and put it down again, warning other bystanders. People then scattered as the bomb went off. Potgieter said he later reported to AWB commandant Abraham Fourie that the bomb had gone off successfully, but that he did not know if anyone had been killed.

A statement which formed a crucial part of the state’s case against several of the AWB men was ruled inadmissible by the presiding judge, H.C.J. Flemming, after a “trial within a trial” over the admissibility of the statement and two other state documents. One of the last state witnesses was the investigating officer in the Bree Street bomb blast, Captain Jacobus Terblanche. The defense put it to Captain Terblanche that another police captain, Nick Deetleefs, and state witness Jacobus Koekemoer had “colluded in making Mr. Koekemoer’s statement.” (It was Koekemoer’s evidence earlier in the trial which was the most damaging to the defense.)

Terblanche conceded under cross-examination that it was “possible” that the statement could have been interfered with. A Colonel Nick Englebrecht also testified that he had taken a statement from one of the accused, Jannie Kruger, in May 1994. Kruger had been arrested along with another accused, Josais Cruywagen, and both had allegedly made statements.

The defense contested the admissibility of the statements, arguing that they had been submitted without the knowledge or permission of the two accused. Englebrecht said Kruger had made his statement freely and voluntarily, and without a legal representative being present even though he had been advised that he could have one. The defense team told Englebrecht that he and his team were “in a quandary” and desperate for statements after the legal counsel of the men

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arrested at the shooting range near Rustenburg on April 27 had advised the men there not to make any statements.

The defense then told Englebrecht that part of the statement he had taken from Kruger had been completed in his absence. Englebrecht denied this. The defense asked how Kruger had known that he had to begin the statement by supplying details of his schooling and occupational training if it were true that Englebrecht had not asked him any questions, save for gaining clarification of the events he allegedly described.

Kruger himself testified that the police had told him that if he refused to become a state witness, he would most certainly get the death penalty. He said at first he refused to make a statement but had been told that he would enjoy protection as a witness for the state, and would be given a car, accommodation, a job, and "compensation."

When he got to police headquarters in Johannesburg, he was taken to Englebrecht's offices in Germiston where he made a statement. On his way to court for a bail application on May 23, 1993, he said Englebrecht had approached him with a statement on which he had marked with crosses the places where Kruger was required to sign. He said he had signed the statement after being told that it was a form from the attorney general's office which he was obliged to sign as a state witness. He had however been charged along with the other accused in the case.

The statement which Englebrecht had drawn up and which Kruger had been shown unsigned and asked to sign was now the one that the state was trying to submit as evidence, the defense said.

Finally on April 6, 1995, Justice Flemming ruled that Kruger had had little choice in making a statement "as he had virtually been placed between the devil and the deep blue sea." He said the explanation the police gave as to why they did not give Kruger the option of making the statement before a magistrate was unconvincing. Police had testified that it was "too early" to get a magistrate in before whom a statement could be made.

"One wonders why, after he was given legal advice to the contrary, the accused would suddenly have been prepared to make a statement," Flemming continued. He said that from the content of Kruger's evidence and on the balance of probabilities, it could not be said that he was not speaking the truth and that therefore the alleged statement was not admissible.

(The statement made by Kruger was to the effect that he had personally driven the car bomb used in the attack on Jan Smuts airport, and that he had been injured in the resultant blast when he had not been able to get away in time. He had then walked back to Ventersdorp—a distance of over 140 kilometers—over two days, spending nights in the veld, with a head wound. He had then been sent down to the Eastern Cape by the AWB to hide from the police, but he had been identified by the state witness Koekemoer and was eventually arrested.)

The new interim constitution of South Africa contained a clause which compelled the newly elected government to grant amnesty for political crimes committed before December 5, 1993. As the election time bombings fell outside this date, the AWB took it upon itself to try and get this date extended to May 10, 1994—the date of the swearing in of Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa.

To this purpose the AWB leader appointed his media secretary, Fred Rundle, to the post of "Chief Negotiator" and instructed him to make submissions to the ANC Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, and also to Mandela to try and get the amnesty cutoff date extended. After several written submissions and a meeting between Rundle and Omar, an invitation was extended to the AWB to address the parliamentary standing committee on justice in Cape Town on the issue.

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Despite all these efforts, the ANC-dominated government decided against extending the deadline. This refusal to consider the AWB men for inclusion under the amnesty law provoked an immediate response—four of the main accused: Clifton Barnard, Etienne le Roux, Abraham Myburgh, and Jan de Wet (the first three were accused of planting the Bree Street bomb, while De Wet was accused of planting the Germiston bomb) skipped bail on Wednesday, April 12, 1995, and went underground.

On that day the four men failed to appear in court along with the other accused in the case and warrants were issued for their arrest. Their bail of R50, 000 each was declared forfeit to the state. Their attempt at escaping was however short-lived, as they were rearrested at a police roadblock between Piet Retief and Pongola on the Natal/Swaziland border on April 19, 1995.

Although the police claimed the four men were arrested at a "routine" roadblock, this appears most certainly to be an invented story to cover for the fact that the AWB men were betrayed at some point in their travels. The police said that the four men were recognized "by chance" by one of the policemen manning the roadblock "who happened to have been part of the original arrest team" in the Transvaal.

The chances of a policeman working a roadblock in Northern Natal having been one of the original arrest team are of course extremely slim, and it is far more likely that the arrest team officers were brought down to Natal especially for the roadblock, so that there would be people present who could identify the AWB men. All this would indicate that the roadblock had been set up precisely for the purpose of arresting the men based on information that they would be travelling that particular road. The driver of the pickup in which the four men were travelling was released by police virtually immediately afterwards, after apparently claiming that he did not know to whom he was giving a lift. This story is of course also extremely dubious.

The four men reapplied for bail once they were back in Johannesburg, and to no one's great surprise, the request was refused. The state then closed its case and the defense team immediately requested the court to discharge on all counts sixteen of the twenty-six accused. The defense team submitted that the following accused should be discharged on all counts as the state had failed to produce any evidence linking them to any of the incidents: Nico Prinsloo; Leon van der Merwe; Abraham Fourie; his brother Gert Fourie; Hercules Coetzee; his brother Andreas Coetzee; Cornelius Botha; his son Cornelius Botha Jr.; Gert Alberts; Milestone Sharp; Serge D'Abbadie; Dirk Meyer; Johannes Smit; Clint Ellish; Petrus Steyn; and Johan Du Plessis. The defense also argued that there was no evidence of the involvement of Etienne le Roux, Cliff Barnard, and Jan de Wet in the Randfontein, Westonaria, Pretoria, and Jan Smuts airport bomb blasts, and that charges against them relating to these incidents should also be dismissed.

The defense further argued that there was no evidence against Jan de Wet in the Bree Street bombing incident, and that this charge against him should be dismissed. The defense further applied for the discharge of accused Jaco Nel on all counts except the Pretoria bomb.

This plea was only partially met—seven of the accused were cleared on all counts except for the illegal possession of firearms and explosives, while another one was discharged on all counts except the illegal possession of firearms and explosives and one charge of car theft. Etienne le Roux, Cliff Barnard, Abraham Myburgh, and Jan de Wet remained charged with all ninety-six counts, which included all the murder charges. Abraham Fourie, Johannes Venter, and Johan du Plessis had all charges except those relating to the Bree Street, Germiston, and Jan Smuts car bombings withdrawn.

Justice Flemming said the state had failed to prove that there was a conspiracy to commit deeds of terror to disrupt the elections. He said it was "not unthinkable" that among the AWB

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members gathered at the farm, there was a “relatively innocent group” who only knew about the pipe bombs.

The judge said the Bree Street, Germiston, and Jan Smuts car bombs had all been built on the farm Koesterfontein. It could be that the building of the car bombs was done in such a way as to prevent the people at the game farm from knowing about them. Aside from the evidence of state witness Koekemoer who was an accomplice as well as a witness, there was very little evidence about what went on at Koesterfontein.

The judge described Koekemoer as “not only an unconvincing but also a very poor witness” whose evidence could not be accepted by a court “without reasonable doubt.”

The case was then postponed to September 1995 in order to give time for the defense to prepare their case. However, when the case was restarted it was once again postponed to February 12, 1996, pending the outcome of a case in the then newly established constitutional court. The issue at stake was whether it was fair to charge everyone who had been present at the shooting range with possession of firearms and ammunition when they all denied knowledge of the items and no particular person was found to be in possession of them.

This “principle of common purpose” had been used under the previous government to convict all persons present on premises where illegal arms and ammunition had been found. The constitutional court duly ruled that the principle of common purpose was indeed unconstitutional, and this resulted in the February 1996 acquittal of a further eight of the accused, which left only eighteen AWB men still on trial.

The defense called a few of the accused to the stand, where they denied any involvement in the bombing campaign. Final judgment was due to be delivered on March 29, 1996.

A few days before judgment was to be delivered, the four main accused broke out from their maximum security jail in Johannesburg South and vanished. Le Roux, Myburgh, Barnard, and De Wet escaped from Diepkloof prison, where they had been held since jumping bail in 1995, over the night of Friday, March 8–Saturday, March 9, 1996.

The doors to their single adjacent cells were unlocked with a key. As their cells were on the sixth floor of the building, they needed to gain access to the stairwell and for this purpose another cell, which led onto the stairwell, was also opened. The occupant of this cell, a Black male awaiting trial for murder, took advantage of the opportunity to escape as well. At the bottom of the stairwell, the men sawed through a steel grille door. The men then headed straight for a further steel door, normally only opened to remove refuse.

The steel covering on this door was forced off, giving the men access to the outside. A final wall covered with barbed wire was then also scaled—something which in all probability would be impossible without aid from outside.

On Saturday morning, March 9, 1996, AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche addressed an AWB rally in the East Rand town of Germiston, before news of the escape had reached the media. During his speech Terre’Blanche warned that if the government “continued to detain Boer freedom fighters” then the “AWB will spring them.”

This was widely interpreted to have meant that he had prior knowledge of the escape, and the AWB leader was now under investigation for this remark, as well as one a short while later to a South African Broadcasting Corporation television reporter that “this was not the last” of such jailbreaks.

The jailbreak did not prevent judgment in the case from being delivered—on Friday, March 29, 1996, the judge in the case found fourteen of the remaining accused guilty, including the four escapees.

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Five accused were found not guilty, and sentencing was held on Wednesday, April 3, 1996. The court sentenced the following five AWB men to twenty-six years imprisonment: Abraham Fourie, Johannes Venter, Jaco Nel, Petrus Steyn, and Gerhardus Fourie, for the murders of three Blacks who died in a bombing in Pretoria, and for the attempted murder of another fifteen people in the Pretoria, Randfontein, and Westonaria bombings. They were also found guilty of the illegal possession of explosives and ammunition, and for causing R60, 000 worth of malicious damage to property.

Another five AWB men: Milestone Sharp; Johannes Olivier, Serge D'Abbadie, Willem Hattingh, and Dirk Meyer received sentences varying from ten months to two years' imprisonment for the illegal possession of explosives and ammunition. Judge H.C.J. Flemming reserved sentence in the case of the four escapees, saying these men had committed far more serious crimes. In passing sentence, the judge said that the accused were fortunate that the death penalty had been abolished, as this would most certainly have been a sentencing option.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche attended the sentencing of the bulk of his men on April 3. As he left the courthouse, which is in the center of the predominantly Black inner city of Johannesburg, he was the subject of an attempted attack by about three hundred enraged Blacks. His bodyguards managed to ward off the attackers and pushed him into a waiting car, which had to smash its way through other vehicles which had been deliberately parked there.

On November 5, 1994, Johan Heyns, a prominent Afrikaner theologian and former moderator of the biggest Afrikaans church, NG Church, was assassinated in his Pretoria home while playing with his grandchildren. Heyns was the key man in turning the Afrikaners around against apartheid through their church by getting their main church to declare apartheid a heresy.

This was a direct turnaround from the church's earlier position which had endorsed it. As the Afrikaners are to this day extremely attached to their church and religion, there can be little doubt that this shift by the NG Church did much to persuade Afrikaners to continue supporting the National Party's reform policies. As such, Heyns fast became one of the most hated men amongst the right wing.

In April 1995 police discovered three large arms caches which they later linked to AWB fugitive and former reconnaissance army unit soldier Thys de Villiers. De Villiers was eventually arrested in June 1995, and although the police initially suggested that he would be charged with the Heyns' assassination, they later had to admit that they did not have enough evidence against him to press that charge. De Villiers was charged with a number of murders, including that of an alleged police informant and some ANC members south of Johannesburg. He was eventually acquitted on all the charges through a lack of evidence.

On October 30, 1995, a trial started in KwaZulu Natal which received surprisingly little publicity, given its contents. On trial were a number of AWB members accused of conspiring with Zulus to try and seize that province and hold it after the April 1994 election. This attempt was to have included a plan to poison ANC-supporting Zulu villages and an army base in Durban by putting arsenic in their water supplies.

Freddie Steyn, a turncoat AWB member, told the Escourt regional court that a secret meeting was held at a Magaliesberg, Transvaal game ranch, prior to the April 1994 elections, at which he was present. Steyn was the first state witness in the trial of Gerrit Anderson, Allan Nolte, Patrick Rousseau, Gerald Veltman, and Sheron Hattingh, all charged with the illegal possession of arms, ammunition, homemade firearms, explosives, and cyanide poison.

At this meeting in the Magaliesberg, "senior AWB members" instructed accused Anderson to return to KwaZulu Natal accompanied by Steyn, a Frikkie Vos, and the other

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accused, and to set up a plan to take over the province "assisted by Inkatha Freedom Party members." (The IFP members involved in this plot appear to have done so without the knowledge or support of their party's leadership, and are therefore best referred to as Zulu nationalists, rather than IFP members.)

Steyn said that an Umdloti flat, rented by Anderson's girlfriend, was used as a base to plot how all main routes in and out of the province were to be sabotaged to isolate KwaZulu Natal from the rest of the country. This included the destruction of roads, bridges, railways, and harbors at Richards Bay and Durban Airport's control tower. According to Steyn, the group planned to blow up gasoline depots to bring the transport industry to a stop and to poison the water supply at the army reconnaissance base in Durban, as well as poisoning ANC-supporting villages' water supplies. Steyn said he had helped Nolte bury homemade guns, other firearms, ammunition, and explosives on the beach at Umdloti after being warned that they were being sought by the police. Steyn agreed under cross-examination that he had initially lied to the police concerning the size of the explosives and weapons cache. The four AWB men who had escaped from the maximum security jail in Johannesburg became the subject of many rumors, with one of the most common being that they had taken a boat to Israel and were living on a kibbutz. In fact the four had initially gone underground in the Eastern Cape, a favorite place for the AWB to hide its wanted men.

There the men had lived with supporters, wives, and girlfriends for several months, before moving to a remote farm in the Western Cape. Le Roux was however rearrested while travelling in the Eastern Transvaal town of Middelburg late in April 1996 and subsequently sentenced to twenty-seven years imprisonment.

The other three men however seemed to have disappeared from the police's view. Hidden on their remote farm, situated near the small town of Fraserburg, the men started preparing for a new campaign of violence. The farm itself was rented by a close friend and associate, Johannes van der Westhuizen, and the men were supplied by a small AWB Western Cape cell, some of whom participated in the new campaign.

The first attack took place in mid 1996, with a bomb exploding on the De Doorns railway line. This was followed by two more railway line blasts and one bomb which had been placed at an electricity supply substation on the main feed line to Cape Town but which did not explode.

Then the train tunnel outside the town of Worcester was bombed, causing severe disruption to train traffic for a few days. The attacks attracted only minor media interest, with most choosing to ignore the incidents completely.

However, on December 24, 1996, the campaign turned lethal: two large bombs exploded in the town center of Worcester. The first bomb exploded in a busy supermarket (Shoprite Checkers). The local ANC mayor was in the area at the time, while the second bomb exploded in the street. Three men wearing balaclavas were seen speeding away from the scene out of town, but although the registration number of their vehicle was taken down, it was false.

Four people—all Coloreds—died in the blast in the supermarket and fifty-seven were injured. After posting a R500, 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the bombers (always an indication that the police do not have any real information) the South African police announced that they suspected that the three fugitive AWB men were behind the bombs. Less than a week later—on January 5, 1997—copycat attacks were carried out in the Northern Transvaal, with two shops and a mosque being targeted in a series of bombings which the police initially linked to the Worcester bombings.

There was however no link and the Rustenburg bombers were caught the same night after

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being stopped at a hastily erected police roadblock. Pierre Jacobs of Brits, and Christiaan Harmse of Mooinooi near Rustenburg, were both charged with the bombings.

On January 5, 1997, the police announced that they had arrested one of the three AWB fugitives on a small holding belonging to the AWB's Witwatersrand general, Japie Oelofse, near Randfontein. De Wet's arrest—obviously the result of an informer cashing in on the large posted reward—marked a breakthrough in the investigation, and on January 13 the police raided the farm hideout at Fraserburg, arresting Barnard as he tried to flee barefoot through the dense surrounding bush.

The last fugitive, Myburgh, was arrested a few days later at a trailer park on the Cape West coast, and two more cell members—eighteen-year-old Stefaans Coetzee from Cape Town (arrested January 21) and Johannes van der Westhuizen, who had rented the Fraserburg farm, Wilgerskloof, for the cell, was arrested in Namibia after that country's police had been tipped off by the South African police.

On the farm, which had solar panels equipped for electricity generation, police found an arsenal of weapons and explosives, including a ready to go bomb in a two hundred liter drum. The police announced that they had detained a further two cell members who would be state witnesses in the resultant trial. These witnesses would testify that the drum bomb was destined to have been detonated in Cape Town itself.

In February 1997, the three AWB fugitives were finally sentenced for their parts in the April 1994 bombing campaign—each receiving twenty-six years imprisonment. Two of the men—Myburgh and Barnard—were then transferred to Cape Town for their trial in connection with the Western Cape bombings. They, together with Van der Westhuizen, pleaded not guilty, while Coetzee pleaded guilty to all the charges, which included murder. Coetzee's trial was separate and he was quickly sentenced to fifty years in jail.

The other three men were also found guilty after testimony from the two other indemnified cell members and on October 22, 1997, were given four life sentences and eighty years in prison for the attacks in Worcester.

Their sentencing for the April 1994 bombings was ironic—in January, Nelson Mandela had announced that he would extend the amnesty cutoff date to May 10, 1994, after all—to include the rightwingers involved in the pre-election bombing campaign.

In this way, all of the AWB bombing team who had committed their acts before the new cut-off date, were eventually given amnesty and freed.

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POSTSCRIPT (2008)

On April 3, 1996, the same day that the AWB men convicted of their involvement in the April 1994 bombing campaign were sentenced, Eugene Terre'Blanche addressed a public rally in Pretoria. He told the eight hundred strong crowd that the AWB did not regard the convicted men as criminals, but as soldiers. He also announced that the sentencing would from now on force the AWB to operate underground.

How seriously can this threat be taken? On the one hand it can be argued that the cumulative effect of democratic defeat, mass arrests, general resignation and acceptance of the new situation will take the bite out of the Afrikaner hard-liners.

On the other hand, there are historical precedents for this type of situation in Afrikaner history. At the end of the Second Anglo Boer War at the turn of the century, the Afrikaner hard-liners must have felt equally hopeless and resigned to the new order. Furthermore, only a small fraction of Boers had actually fought to the bitter end—the number of "bitter enders" (bittereinders as they were called in Afrikaans) were only twenty-seven thousand, whereas the numbers of Afrikaans speakers who had joined the British National Scouts to fight against the bitter enders numbered some thirty-one thousand. Nearly 12 percent of the Boer population had died in the British concentration camps. The victory over Afrikanerdom seemed absolute.

It took nearly sixty years before this defeat was reversed. What then are the chances of the Afrikaner hard-liners making a comeback?

On the face of things as they stand now, the answer is: not very good.

However, with new leadership, a new generation could easily once again take on the tradition of struggle handed down to them from previous generations. This is where the AWB has played its most significant role in formulating Afrikaner history—not in the swaggering displays of brown shirts marching in the streets, nor of racially inspired attacks, but of having lived up to the tradition of the bitter enders—of having tried to fight for their cause when the situation seemed hopeless.

Should a new generation emerge from the embattled ranks of Afrikanerdom and once again begin the long road back to Afrikaner independence, they will be able to point to the AWB and say that not all Afrikaners welcomed or accepted the era of ANC rule in South Africa.

This ultimately may mean more for the Afrikaner psyche than all the bombs, prison terms, and lost lives put together, and might yet cause another resurgence in Afrikaner nationalism.

Terre'Blanche himself then started a private security company in his hometown of Ventersdorp, employing Blacks as security guards and then renting their services out to retail operations. The exact facts of what happened next are still hotly contested, with many different versions in circulation—but the bottom line is that one of these Black security guards was severely assaulted, ending up with brain damage.

Terre'Blanche denied assaulting the Black man, saying that his dog had attacked the man, while his employee alleged that Terre'Blanche had personally assaulted him. The courts of the New South Africa spent little time in deciding who to believe and sentenced Terre'Blanche to seven years in jail for assault—in a case which had absolutely no political connection at all, despite the AWB trying to make it appear as a political act.

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Terre'Blanche was granted leave to appeal against one of the charges against him, but was still required to serve at least one year straightaway, while the appeal process was heard. Hence the AWB leader went to jail in 2000, flamboyantly—and typically—riding a black horse up to the prison gates, promising that when he came out he would re-saddle the horse and carry on the struggle.

While Terre'Blanche was out of prison as his appeal was being heard, the AWB held a general staff meeting on Saturday, October 7, 2001, in which they accepted Terre'Blanche's suggestion that they demilitarize the AWB and replace their military-style titles with traditional ones.

Terre'Blanche's appeal against the assault conviction failed, and he was returned to prison to serve out the rest of his sentence. He was released from prison at the end of September 2004. Although he had always—nominally at least—flirted with Christianity, his spell in prison had apparently turned Terre'Blanche into what might be termed an extreme Christian. In his first interview after his release, he announced that he would be "demilitarizing" the AWB, turning it "over to God."

Also, in November 2003, Terre'Blanche was convicted on five counts of terrorism relating to the bombings just prior to the 1994 elections. In terms of a plea bargain with the state, Terre'Blanche admitted to ordering the bombings. He was sentenced to a six year jail term, suspended on condition he was never again convicted of the same offense. As he was already serving a jail term for the unrelated nonpolitical assault, Terre'Blanche was returned to the Rooigrond prison to finish his sentence, where he was released in 2004 on parole.

The AWB went into a period of hiatus following Terre’Blanche’s release from prison. It was only in March 2008 that the organisation was once again “reactivated” in response, the now 67-year old Terre’Blanche announced, in response to “public demand.”

“We realised when I came back from prison that the real hour to revive the resistance had arrived,” Terre’Blanche told the British newspaper the *Telegraph* in June 2008. Typically, the AWB leader threw himself into a series of public meetings around the country, and at one stage drew up plans to take the demand for Boer independence to the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

Soon, he was drawing considerable crowds once again, including a new generation of younger Afrikaners who had never before heard his still impressive oratory. Nonetheless, the AWB remained very much a minor factor in the political equation.

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FINIS (2012)

On April 3, 2010, Eugene Terre'Blanche was murdered in his bed by two of his black farm workers. The AWB leader was brutally hacked to death with a large panga and a metal pipe by repeated blows to the head, so that his face was almost unrecognizable. The two murderers freely confessed their deed to fellow black workers and even called the police themselves, boasting about their deed.

A minor flurry in the media followed threats by AWB press secretary Andre Visagie that the AWB was going to "take vengeance" for the murder, and some news sources even speculated that a "race war" might erupt. It was wild speculation, and nothing of the sort happened. The AWB later formally withdrew the remarks.

Terre'Blanche's funeral was his last large gathering. Thousands of sympathizers gathered at the Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk in Ventersdorp—far too many to fit inside the church. Estimates of the size of the crowd varied from three to seven thousand. Terre'Blanche's coffin, draped in an AWB flag, was greeted with open handed "Roman" or "Nazi" salutes as it left the church on its way to his grave, a concretelined tomb on the family farm where he was murdered.

Photographs leaked from the police dossier during the trial of Terre'Blanche's murderers revealed how brutally the AWB leader had been beaten to death in his bed.

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Above: Terre'Blanche's funeral procession is saluted by thousands of supporters, and below, his coffin is carried out of the church. The pallbearer on the front right is Steyn van Ronge, the man appointed leader of the AWB following Terre'Blanche's death.

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It was a supremely ironic end to Terre'Blanche's life: to be killed in his bed by his own black workers. In many ways it summed up the essential flaw in Apartheid and indeed all of white South Africa—the strange reliance on black labor while simultaneously seeking a position of social segregation and supremacy over the nonwhite population. Even Terre'Blanche's grave was dug by black laborers.

Upon Terre'Blanche's death, a minor power struggle erupted between his two most senior aides, Steyn van Ronge and Andre Visagie. Van Ronge won the support of most of his colleagues and became the new leader of the AWB.

It remains to be seen if the organization will survive the death of its central figure.

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